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ABSTRACT

This volume attempts first to take stock of the process of urbanization in Alberta and second to identify areas in which research may be required to guide urban development policies in the years ahead. Contents include the following papers: "An Economic Perspective," Eric J. Hanson; "A Goegraphic Perspective," Dennis B. Johnson and Peter J. Smith; "A Political Science Perspective," Jack Masson and Robert Gilsdorf; "A Sociological Perspective," Earle L. Snider and George Kupfer; "Urban Design in Calgary," Robert W. Wright; "Laboratories for Living," Michael R. C. Coulson; "Towards a Model of Urban Government," Stanley Drabek; "Prospects for Revitalizing Small Communities," H. Peter M. Homenuck; "Factors Affecting Environmental Quality in Urban Living," Louis Hamill; "Priority Urban Problems: A Social Work Perspective," F. H. (Tim) Tyler; "Toward a Program of Studies in Urbanization," David G. Bettison; and, "Postscript: Policy Recommendation to the Human Resources Research Council," The Editors. Two appendices are also included: (1) Urban Research Capability in Alberta; (2) Urban Studies Research Centers. [Three pages of photographs, p. 76-78, have been deleted from this document due to reprodicibility limitations.] (JM)

URBANIZATION AND URBAN LIFE IN ALBERTA

edited by

R. Gordon McIntosh and Ian E. Housego
with the assistance of Glenda Lamont

Report of the Urban Studies Symposium
Sponsored by the Alberta Human
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PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT UNIT
Alberta Human Resources Research Council
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PREFACE

Most people who have experienced life in any of the more densely populated areas of the world tend to scoff at the suggestion that urbanization ought to be a matter of concern to the inhabitants of the Canadian prairies.

But it is a fact that urbanization has become one of the most significant trends in Alberta society. Indeed, the pace of urbanization in this area now equals that of the most rapidly urbanizing centres in the Western world. The trend has profound implications, not only for the large masses of people for whom the city has become or will become the dominant life environment, but also for those individuals who make up the ever diminishing residue of what was a satisfying rural and small-town culture.

What are the implications of this for the quality of life in the future? Is Edmonton, or, perhaps, Calgary destined to become one of the world's great cities?

And what *is* a great city? Should the prospect of a totally urbanized society be viewed with anticipation or apprehension? Must the city of the future inevitably be the paradoxical centre of opportunity *and* oppression, of excitement *and* despair, that so many of today's great cities are?

Or can an urbanizing society, if it mobilizes its resources early enough, anticipate conditions before they develop—and intervene to shape the kind of urban condition that is desired?

In this volume questions such as these are addressed. An attempt is made, first, to take stock of the process of urbanization in Alberta and, second, to identify areas in which research may be required to guide urban development policies in the years ahead.

The approach is interdisciplinary. Included are papers by economists, geographers, sociologists, anthropologists, social workers, and planners. To all contributors, I express appreciation.

To Ian Housego and Gordon McIntosh goes the credit, not only for having arranged the symposium, but also for making available to a wider audience this unique contribution to urban research and planning in Western Canada.

L. W. Downey, Director
Human Resources Research Council

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FOREWORD

The papers presented in this report were first delivered and discussed at a symposium sponsored by the Alberta Human Resources Research Council and held at the University of Alberta on November 21, 1969. Scholars from the three Alberta universities representing a diversity of disciplines—anthropology, economics, geography, political science, and sociology—participated in the symposium, together with staff members of the Council.

The purpose of the symposium was to address the question of what role, if any, the Human Resources Research Council should play in developing the research capability of Alberta in the area of urban research. During the first year of the Council's existence, staff members, in the course of their program development activities, had become aware of the importance attached by many persons—both in the universities and in urban government—to urban studies as an important focal point around which to organize human resources research and development.

At its autumn, 1969 meeting, the Council discussed urban studies and passed a motion instructing the staff to bring forward specific recommendations for consideration at the next meeting of the Council. The November symposium, then, served as an important basis for advising the Council on the action it should take in the area of urban research. The terms of reference set by the staff for symposium participants were as follows:

> . . . [T]he most important issue to be addressed by each position paper is the identification of priority problem areas and research perspectives on urban problems in Alberta. Time constraints place severe limitations on what can be done in this area in the position paper. However, we would hope that to the extent that it is possible we will be able to document specific Alberta problems and specific research perspectives by which these problems could be addressed.
>
> The remaining two items in the terms of reference . . . might be considered optional . . . (a) organizational arrangements for cooperation among institutions of higher learning in Alberta in the area of urban studies; and (b) the role that the Human Resources Research Council should play in stimulating, coordinating, and financing urban studies.

For many persons, particularly those unfamiliar with the course of urbanization in Alberta, concern for urban research is seen as a case of misplaced priorities. Urban research in the great metropolitan centres, yes! —such persons will say, adding that Alberta's urban problems are miniscule by comparison and do not require the careful analysis that research is able to provide. This view must be taken seriously and calls for attention to certain basic facts regarding urbanization in Alberta.

Urbanization in Alberta

To understand better the process of urbanization in Alberta, we should see it in its Canadian context. Canada is already predominantly an urban country and is rapidly becoming even more urban. By 1980, eight out of ten Canadians will be urban residents, and six out of ten will be concentrated in 29 metropolitan areas and large cities of 100,000 and over.[1] Over the next decade the pace of urbanization in Canada will continue to be the highest among the major industrial countries of the world.[2]

To 1980, the highest proportionate increases in urban population in Canada (44 per cent) will be in British Columbia and the prairie region.[3] In the latter, the increase in urban population will equal the present combined populations of Winnipeg, Saskatoon, and Calgary![4] These predictions, of course, are based on trends with which Albertans have become familiar. The population of metropolitan Edmonton, for example, increased from 94,000 to just over 400,000 in the 25-year period from 1941 to 1966, a more than four-fold increase![5] Comparable figures can be cited for Calgary—from 89,000 to 331,000 persons in the same 25-year period.[6] In 1941, the 10 Alberta cities accounted for 28 per cent of the province's population. Today, they account for approximately 60 per cent of the population. Alberta is now predominantly an urban province.

When growth rates are compared, this conclusion gathers further support. Over the 25-year period discussed above, the average annual population growth of Calgary and Edmonton (including the densely populated areas adjoining the city boundaries) was five and seven-tenths

(1) Economic Council of Canada, *Fourth Annual Review: The Canadian Economy from the 1960's to the 1970's* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1967), p. 223.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 188.

(4) *Ibid.*

(5) Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Census of Canada 1966.*

(6) *Ibid.*

per cent. By contrast, the average growth of the rest of the province during the same time interval was only seven-tenths of one per cent. One might think that the study of urbanization in Alberta is, in fact, the study of Edmonton and Calgary. To so limit the matter, however, is to misunderstand seriously the problem. This is a point to which we will return later. Before so doing, though, we will look more generally at the study of urbanization and at certain implications of this approach to understanding human resources development.

The Study of Urbanization and Urban Life

To study urban life (or urban problems, as we phrased it in drawing up terms of reference for the symposium papers) is necessarily to study urbanization—at least in the Alberta context. Unlike British Columbia, for example, which has been an essentially urban province from the beginning, Alberta is an 'urbanizing' province. That is to say, Alberta, together with the other prairie provinces, is undergoing a startling revision of its social fabric, largely through rural depopulation and the concentration of the populace in a very few urban centres. An adequate perspective on urbanization in Alberta, then, must take into account much more than the cities themselves.

Even were we to put aside the effects of rural depopulation, the city and the rural areas affect each other in a number of ways. Urbanism reaches out to affect the lives of our non-urban minority because the city, for better or for worse, is representative of a way of life which extends itself well beyond city borders though the various media of communication, blurring rural-urban distinctions in values and life styles.

The effects of urbanization have a direct, sometimes dramatic, often painful, impact on the residents of the small towns and rural areas. For example, the closing of the small high school or hospital as regional facilities are established may undo years of effort by community leaders to build a viable community in the small town. Systematic research on the urbanization process will not make this kind of adjustment less painful but it may make long-term planning for regional development more rational and humane.

The view is sometimes expressed that because a great deal of research on urban problems and urbanization is being conducted elsewhere, there is no real need to conduct such studies locally. If this conclusion is correct, it would be for reasons other than the prevalence of urban research elsewhere. Urbanization is a world-wide phenomenon, of course, but this is not to say that everywhere in the world it takes the same forms. As noted above, urbanization has taken different forms

even within the different regions of Canada. This means we must study urbanization as it affects us in our immediate environment—something we cannot do if we continue to depend largely on studies conducted elsewhere.

Our 'inner-city' problems are not identical with those encountered by the Americans and the British, nor are our other problems of housing, transportation, and coordinated urban development. Problems universally encountered by countries in the throes of urbanization take on unique forms through the interplay of historical, cultural, geographic, economic, and other factors. To understand our urban environment we must study it in the Alberta context.

An Overview of the Symposium Proceedings

The symposium proceedings are presented in three parts. Part I presents four papers dealing with disciplinary perspectives on urban research. Part II, comprising six papers, addresses the question of alternatives to current practice in urban and regional development. Part III, the concluding section, is made up of Dr. David Bettison's summarizing paper, together with a postscript outlining the research policy developed by the Council in the area of urbanization and urban life.

The scope of the symposium was sufficiently extensive to make identification of interwoven themes in the proceedings a risky task. Nevertheless, the reader might be alerted to three themes which asserted themselves vigorously in the writing and discussion of the symposium participants.

The first theme, explicit or implicit in the views of many symposium participants, had to do with the opportunity available to Albertans to avoid the mistakes of older urbanized areas in urban and regional development. Dr. Wright, for example, writes as follows: "I believe that Alberta, perhaps more than any other place in the world, has the opportunity to create great cities... [T]he opportunity exists to lead the world in urban design. Research is necessary in order to assess the various possible alternatives."

Commentary on this theme of learning the lessons of older urbanized areas—and the searching for alternatives to current practice—is perhaps superfluous. Nevertheless, we should not underestimate the urgency of this search. Dr. Tyler's paper gives some indication of the shape of things to come—apathy, alienation, uneconomic and unaesthetic land use. The Economic Council has described the present urban situation in these terms:

> Shortages and inadequacy of urban housing, traffic and transport problems, air- and water pollution, the confused jumble of conflicting land uses, decaying neighbourhoods and monotonous suburbs, urban poverty and social disturbance, steadily rising property tax burdens and the frustrations of municipal administration—these are familiar burdens to the average Canadian city dweller today.

A second theme emphasized in the symposium has to do with the interrelatedness of urban and non-urban development. Dr. Hamill emphasizes one aspect of this relatedness in his discussion of recreational opportunities for urban residents in land outside of cities. The integration of the migrant, often a person from rural and remote areas, into urban living is dealt with by Snider and Kupfer—a second aspect of interrelatedness between the urban and non-urban.

Johnson and Smith in their view of "urban centres...as a system of interacting nodes of activities" examine several aspects of "interrelatedness" --for example, the effect of "growth variables" on the urban system. The "vicious cycle of decline" in small communities and the relation of this decline to the growth of large urban centres, is considered in Homenuck's paper. In these different ways, the symposium emphasizes that the study of the effects of urbanization involves concern with small centres as well as large, with rural as well as urban people.

A third theme in the symposium proceedings had to do with priorities or emphasis in a program of research dealing with urbanization and urban life in Alberta. Three aspects of this debate on priorities were considered in the symposium.

The first aspect is an old chestnut in debate among social scientists—the relative merits of, and perhaps more important, relative resources to be devoted to "fundamental" and "applied" research. Speaking from the perspective of the political scientist, Masson and Gilsdorf insist that a viable research program on urbanization would establish a balance between these two forms of research. They write as follows: "...[W]here the political scientist has been engaged in applied research, he has continually relied on fundamental research. On the other hand, applied research will quite often trigger theory-building and fundamental research. Thus, the two are so intertwined that it is virtually impossible neatly to compartmentalize the two."

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(7) Economic Council of Canada, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

A second aspect of research emphases, closely related to the first, is introduced by Bettison in his use of the expression "practical research." Such research is problem-oriented and in this sense is a kind of applied research. "Practical" research differs from "applied," however, in that the definition of the problem is not necessarily assumed to be that presented by decision-makers. The problem is reworked in terms of theoretical conceptions so that often the research findings will have broader application. Bettison puts forward this view: "Research provides greater returns if it can be directed toward long-term trends. ...[I]t is wiser to devote a long time...to the identification of a focus of research than to move into apparently obvious problems from the start."

The third aspect provided the focus for the most lively exchange of the symposium. This can be formulated roughly as the "more data versus new ideas" issue. Coulson, Wright, and Tyler argue persuasively that the greater part of our energies should be directed toward developing and testing new ideas for urban development. Coulson, for example, writes: "In essence, the solution to many urban problems lies in providing people with alternatives, giving people opportunities to experience such alternatives, and making judgement upon their relative merits." Hanson *et al*, on the other hand, insist that large gaps in our economic and social data must be filled before social scientific analysis can be applied effectively to urban problems.

Needless to say, the symposium did not resolve the "more data versus new ideas" issue, nor was it intended to do so. This issue, along with many others, was laid open for analysis and continuing debate. One of the purposes of this monograph is to engage a wide range of persons in this debate as work goes forward in specifying a research program for Alberta in urbanization and urban life. We hope the reader will be sufficiently stimulated by the papers which follow to become a partner in the development of this research program by sharing with us his reactions and ideas.

-The Editors

DISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVES
ON
URBANIZATION AND URBAN PROBLEMS

DISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVES ON URBANIZATION AND URBAN PROBLEMS

The papers forming this part of the monograph address the need for research on urban problems from the disciplinary perspectives of economics, geography, political science, and sociology. This approach is not meant to imply that research on problems of urbanization and urban life should proceed with little or no concern for coordinated efforts among disciplines when seeking solutions to specific problems.

All those whose papers are presented in this part of the monograph recognize the need for a multidisciplinary attack on urgent urban problems. They also recognize, however, that in the final analysis, at the grass-roots level, it is specific scholars trained in specific disciplines who do the actual research which may lead to the amelioration of problems. The contributors all favor an integrated, systematic, multidisciplinary attack on urban problems. They subscribe to a view which underlines the importance of the creation of some kind of machinery, some organized structure, aimed at mounting a systematic attack on problems of urbanization to the point of influencing the development of social policy in Alberta.

Eric Hanson assigns economic problems of the cities to four categories. The most important set of problems has to do with *the achievement of stable economic growth.* Another set has to do with *the provision of facilities* for rapidly expanding urban populations, a third with *the provision of public services,* and the fourth with *the fiscal imbalance* among the various levels of government which prevents urban governments from meeting expectations to provide facilities and public services.

Dennis Johnson and Peter Smith address the question of urban research in Alberta from a geographer's perspective and draw an interesting distinction between urban problems which they classify as inter-urban and intra-urban.

Inter-urban problems are those which appear when one views a number of urban centres within a defined area as a system of interrelated centres. On the basis of this approach, Johnson and Smith outline a number of possible investigations, the data from which would help describe and explain the operation of the present urban system in Alberta and would also enable prediction of the characteristics of the future system.

Intra-urban problems are those which appear within a specific urban centre. Again, the authors outline a number of possible investigations which would help explain the spatial distribution of activities within a city, the nature of the establishments containing these activities, and the processes of change in the location of the various activities and the interaction among them.

Jack Masson and Robert Gilsdorf, viewing the city from a political science perspective, are concerned with how governments decide which problems are "public" and which are "private". They are also concerned with how decisions are made within the polity, how public policy alternatives are developed, assigned priorities, and choices made among the alternatives.

Masson and Gilsdorf are also concerned with the actions and reactions of individuals within urban political systems. They suggest that research can help to provide a basis upon which local structures of government can be developed to minimize political alienation in the cities.

Two sociologists, Earle Snider and George Kupfer, argue in their paper that if we are to comprehend the many problems of the city-dweller and provide viable solutions for his problems, we must research *the process of urban integration*. Two forms of integration are necessary if the city-dweller is to perform successfully his social roles as a city-dweller – cultural and economic.

Snider and Kupfer explain that urban residents are in fact integrated differentially into their urban surroundings. Also, they do not have equal potential for effecting change in their environment – change calculated to make them more efficacious in their environment. Therefore, many subgroups – for example, the poor, the aged, migrants – are more or less alienated from the creative life of the city. This is a problem, they say, which needs to be studied. Those who are in positions to affect the quality of life in the cities must understand the degree and nature of alienation characteristic of the various subgroups. Systematic research is required within the framework of what they refer to as urban integration.

URBAN RESEARCH IN ALBERTA: AN ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVE

Eric J. Hanson*

There are four major categories of economic problems in urban areas:

(1) Achieving stable growth and development over time. The growth of urban centres is difficult to predict. To coordinate and integrate economic growth requires policies devised from economic base and similar studies.

(2) The provision of urban facilities. The appropriate and economical use of space for housing, institutional services, commercial services, recreation and transportation facilitites brings with it economic and financial, and social problems. Planning policies (e.g. zoning regulations, land acquisition practices – require constant evaluation and revision.

(3) The provision of urban collective services. The public demand for collective services grows rapidly in a developing urban centre, and fiscal problems may arise. Studies are required to determine the optimal distribution of responsibilities among the three levels of government with a view to policy formulation.

(4) Fiscal problems. The need of the individual in an urban setting for adequate cash flow, and other problems associated with the urban poor suggest the need for research to determine the most effective policies leading to the solution of these problems.

There is need for the upgrading of economic expertise within government in Alberta. A research group within the Budget Bureau should undertake the collection and analysis of provincial and urban economic data. The multi-disciplinary approach to urban research should be used in a proposed urban research institute.

Introduction

The economic problems of urban centres may be divided into four major categories. First, there is the overriding problem of achieving stable growth and development over time. Second, there is a need for many facilities such as housing and business places the locations of which must be zoned by reference to dominant modes of transportation and the appropriate use of space. Third, there are the problems of providing such collective services as public transportation, zoning regulations, education, and health services in the urban setting. Fourth, there are the stresses and strains in the urban community arising from fiscal imbalance, poverty, crime, sub-standard housing, and

*Dr. Hanson is a Professor of Economics at The University of Alberta.

inadequacies in education, health and welfare services, public transport, and so on. Coming to grips with these problems involves a reallocation of resources and social and economic integration, with a resultant redistribution of income.

Achieving Stable Growth

1. **General aspects of the problem.** A city grows and develops in response to the introduction and expansion of "export" industries in its area. Such industries sell a significant proportion of their output beyond the city's area – from the immediate countryside around it, to any part of the world. The industries may be goods-producing, such as manufacturing plants of all kinds, or service-producing, such as educational institutions, hospitals, and professional consulting firms.

Some industries are cyclically unstable (e.g., those producing capital goods and durable consumer goods), while others display greater stability of growth. For any given city the ideal is a mixture of industries to maintain steady growth and to prevent serious instability in the urban economy. In western democratic nations, the location of firms is largely in the hands of private enterprise. Thus, public policy becomes a matter of offering inducements to locate new firms and enterprises in designated regions or cities. Such inducements, when provided by city governments, become competitive and may be less than optimal from a provincial or national point of view. Hence, urban governments do not have much control over the location of industry. Guidelines need to be laid down by the senior governments, also limited in their ability to determine the location of new enterprises.[1]

The problem of predicting growth is serious for relatively large cities located in stagnating regions, and for cities of small size (under 50,000 population). Projecting the growth of such cities, and of towns and villages of much smaller size, is an exercise full of uncertainties. In a province such as Alberta a major problem is the decline in population of a number of small centres. It is necessary for us to deal realistically with the declines. This depopulation is the result of technological and economic trends which are transforming agriculture into an industry; agriculture should be seen as an industry rather than as a way of life.

On the other hand, the larger a city becomes, the more variegated and versatile its economic base tends to become. The growing city tends to attract additional economic activities continuously, with ongoing adjustments in the established industries. The concept of the optimal size of a city is an elusive one which cannot be spelled out except by

(1) See the paper by Dennis B. Johnson and Peter J. Smith, pp.

reference to specific and isolated criteria. In the real world, many factors affect the growth of cities, and there are accordingly many optima. The choice of an optimum, if such a choice were possible for a senior government, would depend upon criteria preferred by policy-makers.

2. **Theoretical approaches.** Within the framework of economic theory, location theory provides a basis for studying the long-run prospects of industries which might locate in a given city or area. This involves detailed studies of industries in a world context. For example, to understand the significance and prospects of the petroleum industry in Alberta, it is essential to understand the world-wide operations of the industry with respect to the spatial distribution of activities, technological trends, cost trends, price trends, and market structures.

A further technique of analysis is the economic base concept. To provide a basis for the analysis of the potential growth of a region or city, its economic activities and industries need to be identified and measured. In particular, it is necessary to obtain data on the export portion of activities. This may be done by the use of labor force and income data. For a comprehensive and detailed analysis, input-output models are required. Such models enable one to identify and measure effects of expenditures of different industries upon the urban economy and to establish patterns and levels of exports and imports. These models are, however, not yet available for application in Alberta.

3. **The economic base of Alberta and its urban centres.** Alberta is located at the periphery of the North American economy and its main export industries are extractive. Since the turn of the century, agriculture has been of great importance in generating income in the provincial economy through exports of farm products. Milling and meat-packing have become significant manufacturing activities, with exports to other regions. Agricultural production and exports have expanded through the years and will continue to do so. There are, however, yearly fluctuations in farm production, income, and exports which make the industry unstable. Before 1947, when agriculture was the only main export industry, the Alberta economy and its urban centres experienced frequent fluctuations in the levels of production, income, and employment.

With the rapid growth of the petroleum industry during the past two decades, a second major export industry has been added to the Alberta economic base. This has provided much additional growth and increased stability, cushioning downturns in agriculture. The metropolitan centres of Edmonton and Calgary have grown rapidly in response to the development of the petroleum industry. Exploration

and drilling for oil have a major impact on the Alberta economy; as long as the petroleum industry persists in the search for oil and gas and continues to spend many hundreds of millions of dollars on exploration activities and for mineral rights, the Alberta economy will be sustained. If the pace of exploration quickens, there will be further growth. The question worrying policy-makers is when and to what degree exploration activity will taper off or even decline, leaving the province dependent mainly upon the production of oil and gas from developed fields.

A number of factors affect the pace of exploration in Alberta: (a) the potential costs of finding oil elsewhere in the world; (b) the growth of the United States export market; (c) the political situation in the Middle East and other regions supplying cheap but interrupted supplies of oil; (d) oil discoveries elsewhere on the continent (e.g., Alaska and the Northwest Territories); (e) off-shore discoveries; (f) changes in exploration techniques; and (g) substitute sources of energy.

Without the petroleum industry, the population of Alberta would have declined.[2] With the strong development of the industry, the population grew from 803,000 to 1,463,000 between 1946 and 1966. Table 1 sets out the data. The population of incorporated centres increased from 38 to 72 per cent of the total population. The population of the cities rose from 220,000 in 1941 to 830,000 in 1966, and cities now account for nearly three-fifths of the Alberta population. Table 2 provides detailed data.

(2) E. J. Hanson, "Regional Employment and Income Effects of the Petroleum Industry in Alberta," Council of Economics, American Institute of Mining, Metallurgical and Petroleum Engineers (AIME) Annual Conference, March, 1966, New York; pp. 4–5.

Table 1

Population of Alberta by Municipal Areas

Centres or Areas	1941	1946	1951	1956	1961	1966
		(Thousands)				
Cities [a]	220	257	351	492	637	830
Towns [b]	60	71	108	148	213	173
Villages [c]	26	25	30	37	45	48
Total incorporated centres	306	353	489	677	895	1,051
Counties, MD's, ID's, and special areas	473	431	429	422	412	386
National Parks [d]	5	6	8	7	8	7
Indian Reserves	12	13	14	17	17	20
Total	490	450	451	446	437	412
TOTAL POPULATION	796	803	940	1,123	1,332	1,463
Per cent incorporated	38	44	52	60	67	72
Per cent rest of Alberta	62	56	48	40	33	28

(a) Includes Alberta part of Lloydminster.

(b) Excludes Banff and Jasper townsites. Some towns and villages close to Calgary and Edmonton were annexed in recent years, accounting for population decline in the category of "towns."

(c) Includes "summer villages" which had a total population of 659 in 1966.

(d) Includes Banff and Jasper townsites. These are unincorporated centres.

Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Census of Canada, 1966*

Table 2

Population of Cities in Alberta

Census Years, 1941-1966

City	1941	1946	1951	1956	1961	1966
Edmonton MA [a]	94	113	177	255	338	401
Calgary MA [a]	89	100	142	201	279	331
TOTAL, METRO AREAS	183	213	319	456	617	732
Lethbridge	15	17	23	29	35	37
Medicine Hat	11	13	16	21	24	26
Red Deer	3	5	8	12	20	26
Grande Prairie	2	2	3	6	8	11
Camrose	3	3	4	6	7	8
Wetaskiwin	2	3	4	4	5	6
Drumheller	3	3	3	3	3	4
Lloydminster [b]	1	1	2	3	3	4
TOTAL, OTHER CITIES	39	45	62	84	106	122
TOTAL, CITY AREAS	222	258	381	540	723	854
PER CENT OF TOTAL ALBERTA POP.	28	32	41	48	54	58
PER CENT OF TOTAL METRO POP.	23	27	34	41	46	50

(a) Includes densely-populated areas adjoining city boundaries.

(b) Alberta portion.

Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Census of Canada, 1966*.

Table 3

Population Growth in Alberta
Metropolitan Areas and Rest of Province
Selected Periods, 1941-1966

	1941-66	1951-66	1961-66
Total Growth in Thousands			
Metropolitan Areas [a]	549	413	115
Rest of Alberta	118	110	16
	667	523	131
Total Percentage Growth			
Metropolitan Areas	300	129	19
Rest of Alberta	19	18	2
TOTAL ALBERTA	84	56	10
Annual Average Rates of Growth (per cent)			
Metropolitan Areas	5.7	5.7	3.5
Rest of Alberta	0.7	1.1	0.4
TOTAL ALBERTA	2.5	3.0	2.0

(a) Calgary and Edmonton
Source: calculated from data in Tables 1 and 2.

The population of the metropolitan centres of Edmonton and Calgary increased at an annual average rate of 5.7 per cent between 1941 and 1966, while the population of the rest of Alberta grew by only 0.7 per cent per year, and the total population of Alberta increased at an average annual rate of 2.5 per cent. Table 3 shows the rates of growth. In 1941, less than one-quarter of the population of the province lived in the two metropolitan centres; currently more than half do so. This shift has transformed the economy of Alberta.

The two metropolitan centres absorb nearly all the population increase of the province. They have grown at nearly equal rates during the past two decades, since they perform largely complementary functions in the Alberta economy. Edmonton provides operational and technical services for the oil industry since it is close to the main oilfields; Calgary provides chiefly financial, managerial, and professional services. Edmonton also has a large proportion of its labor force in governmental, educational, and health services serving the whole province.

The other cities are much smaller, all substantially below the 50,000 population level. They have grown mainly in response to locational factors, such as oil and gas discoveries. The hundreds of towns and villages have a mixed record of growth, depending upon the location of oil and gas discoveries and associated developments.

The population of the rural areas has declined in response to the decrease in the labor force in agriculture, the shrinking tail of the labor force of any developed and developing region or country. At the same time, productivity per worker in agriculture has tripled since 1946, and total production has risen substantially.

4. **Policy requirements in Alberta.** It is highly desirable that the provincial government promote the growth of the petroleum industry, agricultural production and marketing, and associated industries. The provincial government and the urban centres need to study their economic bases and potential new economic activities so that they can gauge potential growth, devise appropriate policies in dealing with industries, assist agriculture in adjusting to change in an industrial society, and evolve policies designed to encourage stable growth. More scientific and technological research needed to develop new products and cost-reducing techniques (e.g., in the area of transportation). More research is required in the area of human resource development to provide the Alberta economy with highly knowledgeable and enterprising individuals working in science, business, education, government, and other fields.

Specifically, the provincial government needs to set up an economic research unit, preferably in its own Bureau of Statistics and Treasury Department, to study the economic bases of the whole province, of large and small urban centres, and of rural regions. Such a unit would gather and analyze labor force and income data and input-output data for industries. The major cities and smaller centres could cooperate in such an enterprise by employing economists and statisticians to work with the provincial government unit. The provinces of Ontario, Quebec, and Manitoba have established such basic economic research units. Alberta lags far behind and has much catching up to do.

In addition, the universities could undertake various theoretical and empirical studies in areas such as location theory and input-output analysis, when adequate basic data and information become available; this research could be conducted within the framework of an interdisciplinary institute of urban studies. Implicit in all these proposals is a continuous interchange of ideas among the members of the provincial government economic research unit, economic researchers in the cities, and economists in the universities.

The rate of population growth has tapered off in Alberta during the 1960's (see Table 3) and there is an urgent need to study the economic bases of the province and its cities. Many smaller centres require sophisticated assistance in gauging their future growth and prospects. The rural areas, particularly, need assistance in dealing with their population declines. The effects of the decline will be partially cushioned by rising per capita incomes in the rural economy. For the economist, the per capita income provides a measure of growth and welfare: the economic future of the rural areas, organized on a more business-like basis, appears to be one of rising incomes for a shrinking number of people. Whether or not viable communities in the social sense can exist in sparsely settled areas in an economy with much mobility of labor is another question.

The problem of achieving stable growth, requiring the study of industrial location theory, economic base activities, urban income and production flows, exports and imports, and input-output analysis, involves primarily economists and statisticians using data supplied by all the sciences, basic and applied.

Provision of Urban Facilities

1. General aspects. The second major urban economic problem is that of providing efficient and convenient facilities at costs which the urban community can afford, for living, working, and playing in the urban environment. It involves the appropriate and economical use of

space for housing, commercial and industrial sites, schools, hospitals, recreational facilities, transportation facilities, and other necessary services. The problems are complex and difficult to deal with in a democratic context because of the many conflicting views of the arrangement, operation, and financing of the facilities.

The price system, left alone to do its work in the urban space economy, produces a land-use pattern based strictly on commercial values. A mixture of skyscrapers and slums is produced in the centre or central city. Housing becomes segregated, on the basis of income levels in the first instance, and by discrimination against groups or individuals with little economic power in the second instance. Space for public facilities, parks, and recreational facilities becomes crowded. Transportation systems become inadequate and chaotic. Land speculation goes on unchecked. The ultimate result of the failure to restrict the operation of the price system in allocating urban space and to introduce social and economic planning techniques in time may be seen by a visitor to most major American and Canadian cities. They are ugly, rundown, depressing, crowded, and stressful in most cases, in contrast to Western European cities where governments have long taken strong measures to control land use.

In recent decades, physical planning has been introduced in North America and zoning regulations developed. For many cities these controls have come so late that the cities face a great deal of urban renewal. Above all, the private automobile has done more than any other factor to damage and pollute the environment of the North American city. Furthermore, it has led to the evolution of suburbs, with differing housing standards, which have the effect of isolating social classes on a horizontal basis. The private automobile has also led to high marginal costs of providing streets and roads for peak traffic periods.

2. **Theoretical approaches.** The theories of land economics and real estate valuation are of great relevance in dealing with the economics of urban spatial organization. The economics of housing is pertinent, as is transportation economics. Market surveys and benefit-cost analyses are applicable in the case of a myriad of internal urban problems.

3. **Policy requirements in Alberta.** All cities, towns, and regions in the province require the planning and zoning of physical facilities. First, much study is required of the kind of housing to be built; this needs to be related to the transporation systems which are deemed best. Second, the role of the automobile in urban transportation requires thorough and continuous review. From an economic point of view, automobile

transportation is costly, absorbing a high proportion of the resources of society. Third, railroad tracks require relocation and airports should be located and planned with regard both to economic factors and pleasant environment. Fourth, the provincial government should take steps to enable urban governments to purchase adequate amounts of land in their potential areas of growth and development. This list of recommendations is not exhaustive.

At present, life is probably reasonably pleasant in cities for individuals with substantial incomes. It has been said that the tenth of the population with the highest incomes finds life rewarding in large North American cities. The other nine-tenths have come to these cities in the hope of graduating into the top one-tenth, a statistical and an economic impossibility.

The job of creating cities which are pleasant and convenient, at a cost which the residents can afford, is a great and complex one. It requires many skills, and is a truly interdisciplinary exercise involving urban and regional planners, architects, engineers, lawyers, health professionals, welfare workers, businessmen, and scientists of all kinds, including, of course, social scientists.

Economists are required in the provincial government, the urban governments, and the universities to analyze land values, the benefits and costs of alternative housing plans, transportation systems, and many other aspects and projects. These studies can be conducted within the framework of the economic research unit recommended above.

Provision of Urban Collective Services

1. General aspects. The provision of collective services is a problem which absorbs the continuous attention of urban governments. As cities grow, public service requirements become increasingly complex, varied, sophisticated, and costly. Rural regions exist without much regard for public - health measures, fire protection, crime prevention and police protection, traffic control, sewage and waste disposal, and cultural and recreational facilities. This is attested by the low level of expenditures on these functions by rural local governments. City governments have to spend substantial amounts to provide even minimal standards of service in the functions listed. With respect to such functions as the provision of education, roads and streets, and health and welfare services, rural governments spend a great deal. Urban governments, however, spend much more to provide increasingly complex services.

The demand for public expenditures grows rapidly in the developing urban community. Urban governments have access to revenue mainly in the form of the property tax, which is inelastic and

regressive in nature. There is a paradox in the sense that the average per-capita income and the proportion of high-income persons are higher in urban than in rural centres, while urban governments are fiscally poor in comparison. They do not have access to income and other taxes of the federal and provincial governments, which take far more out of the cities in revenue than is returned. This is what is termed the fiscal imbalance of urban government.

The fiscal imbalance is compounded in metropolitan areas by fragmentation of local governments. An extreme example is the New York Metropolitan Area which has approximately 1400 local governments, a case of local self-government reigning over the comprehensive regional and metropolitan planning required to deal with common needs.

2. **Theoretical approaches.** Within the framework of economic analysis, much knowledge is available to deal with the fiscal imbalance of urban governments. Studies indicate how revenue sources and expenditure functions may be allocated optimally among the federal, provincial, and urban governments. Detailed studies of the incidence of taxes and benefits and costs of expenditure programs are part and parcel of the research requirements. Furthermore, program and performance budgeting, operations analysis, linear programming, and other techniques can be applied to the whole budgetary process of the provincial and municipal governments. Research is also available on the effects of the size of local government upon the levels of expenditure.

3. **Policy requirements in Alberta.** There is a need in Alberta for continuous examination of the revenue and expenditure systems of the provincial government, the urban governments, and other local governments. Income levels are higher in urban than in rural areas (see Table 4), but the revenue available to urban governments does not correspond to the required levels of expenditure, and they are less able to obtain revenues from their own citizens than the senior governments, a standing grievance of urban governments.

Table 4
Personal Disposable Per Capita Income in the Main Cities and the Rest of the Province of Alberta Six-Year Average (1962–1967)

	Index, Alberta = 100
Edmonton M.A.	108
Calgary M.A.	115

Lethbridge	98
Red Deer	98
Medicine Hat	92
TOTAL FIVE MAIN CITIES	109
Rest of Alberta	89
TOTAL ALBERTA	100
TOTAL CANADA	97

Source: Calculated from data in *Financial Post Survey of Markets* (Toronto: MacLean-Hunter Publishing Co. Ltd., 1968) pp.30.

During the period from 1961 to 1967, the total income assessed under the federal-provincial individual income tax increased by 99 per cent in the two metropolitan areas of Alberta, and payable income taxes grew by 147 per cent. (See Table 5.)

Table 5

Selected Indicators of Government Revenue

Metropolitan Areas and Rest of Province of Alberta

Percentage Increases, 1961 – 1967

	Metropolitan Areas	Rest of Alberta	Total Alberta
Total Income Assessed (a)	99	63	86
Income Taxes Payable (a)	147	123	139
Total Revenue of Municipalities (b)	66	99	82
Property Taxes (b)	58	52	55
Provincial Government Revenue (c)			109

(a) From Department of National Revenue, *Taxation Statistics, 1969* and *1963* (for 1967 and 1961 data), Ottawa.

(b) From Province of Alberta, Department of Municipal Affairs, *Annual Reports, 1961* and *1967*, Edmonton.

(c) From Province of Alberta, *Public Accounts, 1961–62* and *1967-68*, Edmonton.

The yield from property taxes levied by the urban governments in the two areas rose by only 58 per cent. The total revenue of the urban governments in the two metropolitan areas grew by 66 per cent, in part because of an expansion of provincial grants. Income taxes payable to the federal and provincial governments are considerably greater than the property taxes payable to the urban governments. On the whole, the problem of fragmentation of local urban government is not acute in Alberta, except in the Edmonton Metropolitan Area, where the tax base and fiscal responsibilities are divided among the City of Edmonton, the Town of St. Albert, Strathcona County, and two rural municipalities.

There is a need for continuous study of all the fiscal and administrative problems by economists and political scientists in the provincial and urban governments and the universities. The Budget Bureau of the provincial government should be expanded and strengthened, so that it can study continuously the revenue-expenditure systems of the provincial, urban, and other governments. This approach is preferable to the occasional use of Royal Commissions. The urban governments should also build up their fiscal expertise, maintaining continuous research programs which examine all the implications of their revenue-expenditure systems.

Again, the economists, accountants, statisticians, and political scientists required to undertake fiscal studies could be built into the provincial research units in the Alberta Bureau of Statistics and the Budget Bureau (Treasury Department), the urban government research units, and an institute of urban studies functioning in cooperation with the universities. The objective would be to advise the urban, provincial, and federal governments regarding appropriate policies for helping the cities and other local governments to solve their fiscal problems.

Redistributive Problems

1. **General aspects.** The overriding need of the individual in the urban community is a continuous and adequate cash flow. The urban economy is specialized, compartmentalized, and driven by the engine of the price system. Many individuals coming from rural areas, where needs may be met by consumption in kind and by living with relatives, find it difficult to adjust to the relentless urban need for cash. They may also find it difficult to adjust to jobs which require a certain degree of punctuality, precision, and persistence. Furthermore, some hesitate to enter the urban work world because they find it is one in which everyone's efforts are appraised and reported.

Households in the urban environment, whether nuclear families or unattached individuals, are economically very vulnerable. Each unit is subject to the prospect of loss of employment, declines in income, sickness, disability, and other hazards. If decreases in income arise, it is difficult to compensate for losses. The single individual is completely on his own, while in the nuclear family unit the wife can become the breadwinner, provided that the children can be looked after during the day.

The urban poor are mainly the young, the old, the unemployables, unsupported women with children, and the newcomers to the city. A number of social insurance schemes, including hospital and medical care, have developed in the modern, technological, and urbanized society. These are essential for the stability of society and the security of the individual, who may be poor permanently or only temporarily. Most successful middle-aged and old people have been poor during part of their lives; the number of poor boys who have gone from poverty of middle-income and upper-income levels is legion in Alberta, in common with the rest of Canada and other developed countries. It is such a frequent occurrence that those who have not achieved at least an average level of income become the exceptions who require assistance.

Most of the aged, who had very few working years left during the affluent period after 1945, are poor. This is a cumulative result of low levels of productivity and income, and recurring depressions, in Canada and other developed countries before World War II. A number of individuals, most with little education, have also failed to benefit from the postwar prosperity.

In general, the federal and provincial governments in Canada have set up schemes to provide minimal assistance, in some cases administered by urban welfare officials. Given the urban fiscal imbalance, urban governments are not able to contribute heavily toward welfare payments. The redistribution of income involves the use of progressive taxes, levied by the senior governments.

2. **Theoretical approaches.** The discipline of economics can contribute in three ways to the solution of the problems of poverty. It can do so by indicating ways in which the economy can grow, so that the proportion of poor people shrinks steadily; this has been happening, decade by decade, since the 1930's. Second, there is a body of knowledge in economics which provides techniques and approaches (stabilization policy) to combat depression, inflation, and unemployment. These approaches have been refined steadily and applied increasingly to policy-making by national governments during the past three decades. Third, there is much economic knowledge with respect

to the effects of social insurance and welfare measures which could be applied to the problem of poverty, if society is willing to use it.

3. **Policy requirements in Alberta.** There is a need to study all the aspects of the poverty problem so that appropriate measures can be taken by governments to deal with it. Better education, integrated welfare schemes, and the provision of improved housing are among the positive policy measures that can secure improvements in living standards and a decline in the proportion of poor people. Although funds for effective measures must be provided by the federal and provincial governments, which have access to progressive methods of taxation, urban governments must be involved administratively, since they are closest to the problems. Again, economists in the research units in the provincial government, the urban governments, and the universities (as recommended in previous sections) could undertake studies relating to poverty and the redistribution of income; such studies could be an integral part of the work of an institute of urban studies.

Summary

1. **The contribution of economics.** Urban economic problems may be classified under the four main objectives of achieving stable growth, optimizing the use of urban space, correcting the fiscal imbalance of urban governments, and redistributing income and reallocating resources.

Economics, with its firm core of theory and statistical data, has much to offer in working out solutions to the problems. National governments and large corporations throughout the world make extensive use of economists and economic research units to help them to deal with the problems which appear continuously in a changing world. A national government, with its many functions and objectives, may find providing public services and defence a major problem for one period, dealing with unemployment and inflation of major importance in another period, and maintaining a viable balance of payments a problem at still another time. At all times, the national government is responsible for helping to achieve stable growth and greater interpersonal, interregional, and intersectoral equity.

The main difficulties in solving the economic problems of society do not stem from a lack of knowlege and technical approaches on the part of the economists. A large and relevant body of knowlege and techniques has evolved within the field of economics during the past two or three decades. During the past decade, there has been a tremendous expansion in the information available about national

economies throughout the world. In addition, the developed economies of Canada, the United States, and the countries of Western Europe have achieved high rates of economic growth and much stability during the postwar period. The economies of these countries stand in marked contrast to those of the poor, unstable, and underdeveloped countries. Much of the credit for achieving growth and stability in the developed countries can be attributed to the use of expanding numbers of economists to advise policy-makers on major advances in economic theory, techniques, and knowledge.

The problems which arise in providing advice stem from two main sources. First, any proposed policy will disturb the status quo, the power relationships of groups and individuals. Full employment, by promoting equality, reduces the power of higher-income individuals and groups. Similarly, broadly-based, progressive income taxes tend to narrow income differences and reduce power differentials. The reallocation of functions between levels of government increases the powers of some ministers and deputy ministers and reduces the powers of others. Integrated metropolitan government increases the power of the central city and reduces that of the suburban municipalities. The economist, like any other scientist, finds that his advice may be correct as to the effects predicted but that these effects may not be desired by groups and individuals with a significant amount of power. It is as difficult to implement economic stabilization and income-redistribution policies as to implement fluoridation and anti-pollution measures.

A second major difficulty in dealing with a policy is that economists have different biases. Although they may agree on the technical effects of given measures on the economy, some economists are more egalitarian than others. For example, those who are egalitarian tend to prefer full employment and inflation, while those who are conservative prefer stable prices to full employment. They can readily agree on the measures needed to achieve an objective, but differences may arise with respect to the objective preferred. All scientists, since they live in societies of men, are subject to biased thinking in policy-making; they may agree about the means but not on the ends. Ultimately, it is the task of the politician, using the best available advice, to make policy decisions.

2. **Recommendations.** Provincial and urban governments in Canada, with some exceptions, do not yet have adequate economic research staffs. Alberta is far behind Ontario, Quebec, Manitoba, and the Maritimes. The basic recommendation in this paper is that the provincial government of Alberta build up a substantial research group in the Bureau of Statistics and the Budget Bureau. There are large gaps in provincial and urban economic data to be filled before economic

analysis can be applied effectively.

The economists in the Bureau of Statistics should be concerned primarily with the collecting and collating of provincial and urban economic data, providing a reliable basis for the construction of provincial income and production accounts, and input-output tables. This group should have econometricians and statisticians to provide the basic framework for empirical economic research on any matter relating to the province. A number of industrial, economic-base, input-output, and income-distribution studies could be undertaken in the Bureau.

The Budget Bureau should have economists to undertake studies of the incidence of taxes, benefit-cost, and other analyses of government programs, and of budgeting techniques, including program and performance budgeting. They would work closely with the Bureau of Statistics in obtaining and analyzing data.

The economists in the urban and other local government and planning agencies would conduct studies of specific relevance to the jurisdictions of their government. They would need data and analyses provided by the provincial Bureau of Statistics and Budget Bureau.

The proposed institute of urban studies would be an agency which undertakes special research projects in urban problems, serves as an innovator of new concepts and approaches in dealing with these problems, and assists in training and educating researchers and administrators for urban tasks. A number of university staff members in various disciplines, from basic science and engineering to geography and sociology, would be involved. The institute could be financed and managed jointly by the universities and the Human Resources Research Council.

URBAN RESEARCH IN ALBERTA: A GEOGRAPHIC PERSPECTIVE

Dennis B. Johnson and Peter J. Smith*

Urban research and problems may be categorized as inter-urban or intra-urban.

Inter-urban studies (the study of systems of urban centres) suggest several avenues for research. The description of change in the functions, sizes, and spacing of Alberta's urban centres, and the explanation of these changes, have implications for public policy decisions. The growth of Calgary and Edmonton, through centralization of economic activities, contributes to changes in the distribution of population in the province, and affects the roles of these centres in the Western Canadian region. Urban growth presents problems to the urban resident of accessibility to non-urban amenities. The formulation of policies to guide and control urban growth is a logical outcome of inter-urban research.

Intra-urban studies (the study of the internal structure of cities) include studies of urban population changes, land-occupancy and use, human integration in the city, problems associated with the physical site of the city, its commercial structure, hierarchies of community units, urban expansion considerations, and ultimately, the effects of municipal policy-making on urban form.

Coordination of urban research activities is necessary. This could be accomplished through the establishment of a centralized reference system for urban research in the province, and an urban data system. Implicit, also, in this coordination is a multi-disciplinary approach to urban studies.

Introduction

Three general points can be made by way of introduction to this paper:

(a) For organizational convenience, urban research and urban problems are grouped under the headings of inter-urban and intra-urban. By and large, this division is meaningful but it is also artificial in the sense that it is not always possible to classify a particular problem.

(b) The paper focuses on Alberta problems and on lines of research that would be meaningful and rewarding in an Alberta context. However, this should not obscure the fact that Alberta's problems are

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not necessarily unique, and not necessarily confined by the boundaries of this province. On one hand, there is the possibility of drawing on the much broader research experience outside Alberta and even viewing Alberta research as a contribution to the development of urban theory. On the other hand, a broader regional base (e.g., the prairie provinces, Western Canada) might well be taken for some research projects, particularly when treating such themes as migration and the spatial economy.

(c) Although one purpose of this paper is to identify problems and research concepts of concern to geographers because of their spatial dimensions, it is not pretended that they are of concern to geographers alone. On the contrary, urban research provides an opportunity to bring varied viewpoints to bear on problems of common interest.

Inter-Urban Studies: Systems of Urban Centres

A major topic of geographic research is the description and explanation of the size, spacing, and function of urban centres in a given study area. The total set of urban centres within Alberta can be viewed as a system of interacting nodes of activities where a change in the function or size of one centre will affect many other centres in the system. In addition, a change in the facilities for interaction among urban centres (i.e., improvements in transportation and communication) will result in the growth of some centres and the decline of others in the system.[1] Geographic researchers are concerned with the development of models or theories which attempt to describe and explain present urban systems and predict the characteristics of future systems. The application of existing theory and development of new approaches to the study of this topic in Alberta would improve our understanding of the changing role of urban centres in the province.

Some proposed avenues of research follow:

1. **Description of change in the functions, sizes, and spacing of urban centres in Alberta.** It is generally known that certain centres are declining in importance, while others are experiencing growth. An initial research priority is a series of studies to devise methods of measuring the functions and importance of urban centres in Alberta and identifying the changes taking place in Alberta's urban system.[2]
2. **Explanation of change in the functions, sizes, and spacing of**

(1) Gerald Hodge, "The Prediction of Trade Centre Viability in the Great Plains," *Papers of the Regional Science Association*, Vol. 15, 1965, pp. 87–115.

(2) See The Centre for Urban and Community Studies, *Research Reports, Nos. 2, 3, and 4* (Toronto: University of Toronto), Dept. of Geography, 1968).

urban centres in Alberta. When the major aspects of change in the urban system of Alberta have been identified, emphasis would shift to the identification of the variables associated with this change, i.e., what are the dominant factors which influence the viability of urban centres in the Alberta situation? In particular, what factors are contributing to the process of centralization in Alberta and what impact will this have on the future urban hierarchy? Are small towns likely to become extinct in Alberta as economic activity is increasingly concentrated in the major centres, and, if so, is it desirable that this should happen?

Of special importance to administrators at all levels of government would be those growth variables related to public policy decisions. Examples are school centralization, the location of such facilities as hospitals, administrative offices, and other government activities, and road construction. Of special importance as well is the measurement of the influence of technological change on the urban system of the province. For example, what is the effect of technological changes in farm production and the mobility of farmers on the viability of small rural trade centres? What is the effect of new and improved transportation routes such as the Calgary-Edmonton four-lane highway, the Yellowhead route, the Mackenzie Highway, and the Alberta Resources Railway on the urban system in the province? And, projecting into the future, what effect would the proposed secondary highway system have on the pattern of urban centres in Alberta?

3. **Study of the roles of the cities of Edmonton and Calgary in the Western Canada region.** This would include studies dealing with the monitoring of the economic bases of these cities in the light of the development of resources in the Prairies and especially in Northern Canada. A useful set of comparisons regarding changing areas of influence could be made between the two Alberta cities and other competing Western Canadian metropolitan centres, especially Winnipeg and Vancouver.

4. **Analysis of causes and patterns of population shift in Alberta.** Migration theory should be called upon to analyze the causes and patterns of population shifts in Alberta. These would naturally include rural-urban migration, but even greater importance, both today and in the future, should probably be placed on migration within the urban system from smaller to larger centres. Special attention should also be given to the migration patterns of ethnic or social groups which bring unique problems, attitudes, and perceptions[3] to the urban areas. For

(3) George L. Peterson, "A Model of Preference: Quantitative Analysis of the Perception of the Visual Appearance of Residential Neighborhoods," *Journal of Regional Science*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 1967, pp. 19–31; and Kevin Lynch, *Image of the City* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1960), p. 194.

example, it has been said that potentially Edmonton could acquire one of the largest Indian populations in Canada.

5. **Study of present and future accessibility of the growing urban population to non-urban amenities, especially recreation areas.** Accessibility to these amenities must be considered in terms of time-cost, particularly at times of peak demands on summer weekends. Among the basic questions that need to be examined are the nature of the demand for recreation space, the availability of recreational amenities in proximity to the major cities, the effectiveness of the recreational development policies of provincial and municipal authorities, and the travel patterns of urban recreationists. Running through all of these studies should be two themes: the relationship between actuality and preference (are the recreationists able to get what they really want) and the future implications of recreational demands and attitudes.[4]

6. **Development of policies to control growth.** Given an understanding of the ways in which the urban system is operating and changing, it is logical to use this knowledge to develop policies which would control selected aspects of urban growth from the inter-urban point of view. An important part of this process is to study and consider possible alternative forms of urban settlement in the Alberta context. Examples of possible new forms of urban development include new towns within commuting distance of the metropolitan areas of Edmonton and Calgary; an urban development corridor between Edmonton and Calgary; towns, either new or existing, to be selected as "growth points" in the province; and the use of mobile homes and other buildings in towns which have a predictable life. Related to the selection of alternative urban forms is the technique of perception studies in geographic research, i.e., how do residents perceive their community? What facilities are deemed necessary for everyday living in a town or city? What is the ideal size of a city in the eyes of urban residents in the province?

Intra-Urban Studies: Internal Structure of Cities

Recognizing that the majority of Alberta residents will be living in the larger cities, especially Edmonton and Calgary, research from an intra-urban point of view should concentrate mainly on these centres. Geographic research has been concerned mainly with the spatial distribution of activities within the city and the nature of the establishments which house these activities. Included in most

(4) See the paper by Louis Hamill, pp.

(5) See the papers by Robert Wright, pp. ; and Wm. Coulson, pp.

approaches is a consideration of the interaction that takes place among these activities. It is also necessary to stress the processes of change in the location of activities and the interaction among these activities. Some specific priority areas for research are proposed below:

1. **Urban population and housing.** In general, the main increases in population are taking place in the suburban areas of the city, while relative decline is characteristic of the older central area. Many of the older central areas are undergoing a transition from low density to high density residential, or from residential to other land uses. An important area of study is the measurement of this change. A more general related question is whether the transition from one form of housing to another is a reflection of demand by urban dwellers or of a combination of private enterprise and government policies. The end-product of such an approach should be to discover whether the urban dweller in large cities in Alberta is getting the type of housing he wants in a location that he considers desirable. Related to this would be an assessment of the housing opportunities available to the urban dweller, especially the low-income dweller.

2. **Land occupancy and use.** Of more general concern on the theme of the changing spatial structure of the city is the idea of the recycling of land occupancy and use. A corollary to this is the problem of obsolescence. Even small Alberta cities are now old enough to be displaying physical obsolescence of buildings and urban forms, while the larger cities are already well embarked on the complex process of re-use and reconstruction; Problems inevitably result for a number of reasons: the mixing of old and new forms (e.g. high-rise apartments superimposed on single-family subdivision patterns); the persistence of relict forms[6] which may obstruct change (e.g., the site of the provincial government buildings in Edmonton); the tendency for redevelopment to be channelled in very definite directions while other areas which are equally in need of improvement are left to become increasingly obsolete (e.g., the central wholesale districts of Edmonton and Calgary); and the host of individual, often very personal, pressures and factors which lie behind any decision for change. Many studies could be identified under this general heading of changing structure, and all have important implications for urban planning policy.

3. **Human interaction in the city.** Assuming that one of the main reasons for the existence of cities, especially large cities, is the facilitation of the movement of goods, people, and ideas, a major

(6) Watson, (J. Wreford,) "Relict Geography in an Urban Community: Halifax, Nova Scotia," in *Geographical Essays in Memory of Alan G. Ogilvie*, R. Miller and J. Wreford Watson (eds.) (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1959), pp. 110 – 143.

concern for the urban researcher should be studies related to the identification and analysis of problems of the facilities which provide access within the city. Urban transportation and its effect on urban form and function should be a continuing aspect of research in Alberta cities, particularly as some very expensive policies are now being implemented without any clear insight into their impact on future urban forms and functions.

4. **Problems associated with the physical site of the city.** This group of problems includes measurement of, and proposals for, solutions to air and water pollution. Another important question is the optimal use of such local physical amenities as river valleys, forested areas, and other potential amenity-areas which are becoming scarce relative to the growing population and expanding urban land-area.

5. **The commercial structure of the City.** The commercial structure within the city can be compared to the urban system mentioned previously. Commercial activities tend to cluster in the form of centres or nodes within the city. When these centres have been defined, it is possible to analyze their viability and offer explanations for their growth or decline using theories and models similar to those developed for the description and explanation of urban systems.

Another major research priority is the analysis of the consumer use of retail facilities within the city in order to gain knowledge of the changing function of different forms of retail clusters. The central business district of the city deserves special attention with regard to its retail and office functions. For example, in both Calgary and Edmonton a 'strong' downtown core has been accepted by municipal and business interests, but how valid is this concept likely to be twenty years from now? Is it worth the investment that is now being put into central redevelopment and new access facilities?

6. **Hierarchies of community unit.** The distribution of commercial activities in the city is related to the distribution of housing areas and also forms a basis for the hierarchy of community units. In Edmonton and Calgary for the past twenty years residential areas have been built on the neighborhood unit principle, but there has never been any evaluation of the success or failure of the neighborhood as the basic living unit of the city. For example, should each neighborhood be planned as an individual entity (which has been the practice) or should it be viewed first as part of a larger grouping? Is a smaller unit than the neighborhood more meaningful for some aspects of community life? What sort of social diversity, if any, should be accommodated within a neighborhood, and how? How do the residents of planned neighborhoods view the environment that has been created for them,

particularly in comparison to the perception of the residents of unplanned districts? Ideally, planning concepts should be enriched constantly by the feeding-in of scientific evaluations of practical experience, but this is rarely done. Edmonton and Calgary have been more strongly committed to the neighborhood principle than any other cities in Canada, and an evaluation of their experience could make a major contribution to neighborhood planning theory.

7. **Urban expansion** A related area of analysis, with implications for both planning policy and urban theory, concerns the form and direction of urban expansion. To what extent should it be dictated by purely pragmatic considerations (such as availability of water and sewer services) and to what extent should conceptual frameworks be adopted (e.g., Edmonton's linear orientation to the North Saskatchewan river valley)? Can an established development pattern be changed radically (e.g., the implications of the government purchases of land for residential development southeast of Edmonton)? What is the relationship between planning (in the sense of designating land for future development), land speculation, and land costs? What are the shortcomings, if any, of present land development policies, and, in particular, why is the residential land supply in Edmonton so limited?

8. **Municipal policy-making and urban forms.** Finally, an important theme for urban research, touched on in several of the preceding points, is the role of municipal policy-making in the evolution of urban form. Such practices as zoning, boundary extensions, utility expansion, street construction, and the provision of parks and schools are major factors in the shaping of any city. They require analysis at two levels: first, to determine their actual effects on urban form; second, to determine how the municipal policies are developed and administered. For instance, Alberta has experimented with various forms of planning machinery. These have received very little critical evaluation, although they have frequently been modified in response to immediate pressures. Calgary and Edmonton have also had very different experience in such matters as planning procedures, land development policies, and public control of utilities. A comparative analysis of the two cities should therefore point the way to a more rational approach to the municipal government role in urban growth and change.

Interdisciplinary Requirements

1. **Coordination of urban research activities.** A routine search of the literature would reveal a number of works dealing with urban processes and problems in Alberta.[7] A logical step would be to make these findings more accessible to persons interested in this research. This could be done through the establishment of a centralized reference

(7) For example, *Urban and Regional References*, compiled by the Canadian Council on Urban and Regional Research.

system to keep a record of urban research in Alberta. A continuing series of abstracts is considered a minimum requirement; a centralized reference library would approach an ideal situation. An important task of any group of researchers interested in long-term research in Alberta is to establish a system to make relevant urban data available on a continuing basis. Such data will have to be defined by the people who formulate policies for the collection of urban material. Of special interest to geographers is a data bank making use of a grid reference system so that location aspects of the data as well as the numerical data could be retrieved and mapped by computer.

2. **Collaboration.** For the time being, interdisciplinary research should be based informally on those projects initiated by individuals with complementary research interests. Out of such informal arrangements, an urban research institute may develop.

STUDIES OF THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT: A POLITICAL SCIENCE PERSPECTIVE

Jack Masson and Robert R. Gilsdorf*

In the study of the urban environment, political scientists are concerned with the decision-making processes, policy alternatives, and the role of government in addressing urban problems. A new area of research having potential in the urban context is that of computer simulations of the urban policy process. Studies of electoral behaviour and of alienation and anomic behaviour of urban-dwellers have implications for political policy decisions. The political role of the individual in his community is often unrealized, and the study of local government structures and their effects on local government processes is therefore a necessary area for research. Such research "... could ... be focused on the characteristics of the 'urban political syndrome' (to put it at the collective level) or 'local political orientation' (to put it at the individual level)." An examination of various forms of government to determine those which would best relate citizens' values to the decision-maker is an important topic for study. The political implications of proposed social and economic programs and the effects of "participatory democracy" on policy-making are examples of applied research areas, in the urban context, to which the political scientist might address himself.

Introduction

In the study of the urban environment, the political scientist is concerned with decision-making processes, policy alternatives, and the

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role of the government in addressing problem areas, which may range from economic development in the local community to adequacy of housing to environmental pollution. The role of the political scientist is to study the factors used by government in deciding whether the problems should be addressed by the public sector.

If the decision is made to become involved, two questions are asked: "What are the various dimensions of policies in the particular areas?" and "Taking any given problem, for example housing, what constitutes the range of possible policies." This range necessarily must be narrowed to those policies the implementation of which is politically feasible. The last step involves a detailed examination of the mechanics of implementing the previously narrowed range of policies. It might very well be that there is a series of alternatives open for implementing a particular policy, and the political implications of each alternative must therefore be examined.

If all pertinent variables in the decision-making process could be isolated and measured; if other social sciences were able to pinpoint precisely problem areas; and if we were able to identify and quantify attitudes and measure human behavior with a minimum of error, the policy-making process might be reduced to a mathematical science. Unfortunately, there are tremendous gaps in our knowledge. Locating the independent variables in the policy process is an immense task in itself, without trying to quantify them. Furthermore, the urban researcher with a political science orientation is often forced to perform research in areas traditionally reserved for the urban geographer, the urban economist, and the urban sociologist. Gaps of knowledge in these areas often force the political scientist to ask and answer the question, "What is the problem?" before asking the question, "Does the government perceive the problem as a private or a public one? The political scientist may have to redefine the problem in order to show its public implications.

Obviously, the policy process is exceedingly complex. Political science as a discipline has advanced incrementally toward the building of a theory of the decision-making process – a theory which would give us a high level of prediction concerning the implementation of any particular spectrum of policies. This is not to say that theory (or, if you prefer, pre-theory) has not been developed nor that prediction has not been attempted. Rather simplistic theories have already been formulated and a series of low-level predictions have been made.[1]

(1) See William J. Gore, *Administrative Decision-Making, A Heuristic Model* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1964); T. C. Schelling, *The Strategy of Conflict* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963); and R. Snyder, H. W. Bruck, and B. Sapin, *Decision-Making as an Approach to the Study of International Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954).

The development of an adequate theory of the urban policy process requires two types of research – fundamental and applied. Fundamental research can take several directions.

1. **Computer-based policy simulation.** Recently, a new area of research which has intrigued and attracted a number of political scientists is that of computer simulation of the urban policy process.[2] The results of this approach have been inconclusive and sometimes contradictory, largely because of the unknown factors involved and also because weights have been assigned to variables on a more or less intuitive basis. Nevertheless, computer-based policy simulation is in the realm of the here and now; it is not a science-fiction fantasy. New York City, for example, has commissioned research to simulate certain aspects of law enforcement. In the study, independent variables were varied in order to ascertain costs and efficiencies of particular practices. Presumably, decision-makers in New York City will consider carefully the simulation findings in making policy decisions in the area of law enforcement. Whether computer-based simulation of urban policy formulation would or could have applicability to urban problems in Alberta is not known.

2. **Studies of electoral behavior.** Political scientists have been engaged for some time in studies of electoral behavior. Undoubtedly, one of the attractions of these studies for the political scientist has been the ease with which results can be analyzed statistically. A major criticism levelled at some of the voting studies is that either they are not conducted within a theoretical framework or they make little or no contribution to theory-building. However, if one utilizes past research findings and formulates working hypotheses on the basis of the electorate's role in the urban policy process, the usefulness of voting studies is unquestioned. For example, one of the major, if not the only criterion used by government – the decision-makers if you like – for the selection of urban problem areas for governmental action is the (presumed) perception by the electorate that these problem areas are the responsibility of the public and not the private sector. An imaginative voting study can pinpoint areas which the electorate sees as the responsibility of government.

Another area which has been explored through voting studies research is the study of alienation and anomic behavior of urban

(2) A review of literature and techniques may be found in Jeannette Lamoureaux's thesis, done at the University of North Carolina in 1961. A capsulized discussion of the use of computer technology is found in Britton Harris, "The New Technology and Urban Planning," *Urban Research and Policy Planning,* ed. Leo F. Schnore and Henry Fagin (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1967), 363–388. Two studies worth examining are Arthur Maas, *et. al., Design of Water and Resource Systems* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962); and Andrew Scott, William Lucas and Trudi Lucas, *Simulation and National Development* (New York: J. Wiley, 1966).

dwellers. This, of course, has very important implications for ongoing policy decisions. Admittedly, the measurement of anomie and alienation is in an embryonic phase. Nevertheless, pinpointing the groups in an urban environment most prone to alienation from the political system – and the conditions which tend to promote alienation – will be of immense help in formulating policy on such matters as governmental reorganization. Fragmentary evidence in the social science literature suggests that the larger the size of the community, the higher the level of the citizen's alienation.[4]

Urban Political Behavior

We indicated earlier in this paper that decision-makers often base their actions on their perceptions of what the public wants. But what are the mechanisms by which decision-makers receive their cues from the citizen? In the area of urban politics, there is a wealth of literature, dating back to the reform era in the United States at the turn of the century, and pertaining to the structure of government. The reformer was generally more interested, however, in changing the structure of local government to keep "politics" out of local administration than in initiating proposals by which the preferences of the citizen could be ascertained.

Government at the local level in Canada has been more influenced by the American reformer than has any other level of government.[5] The fear of party politics at the local level has resulted in forms of local government which, we hypothesize, have given rise to an imperfect mechanism for transferring the demands of the citizen to the decision-maker.

Public involvement in the political processes of local communities is generally quite low, certainly much lower than is the case for provincial and federal politics. We can illustrate several aspects of this situation by a simple inspection of the differences among the voting turnout of communities in recent elections for the different levels of government.

(4) A number of studies examining the failure of governmental reorganization have found that the citizen does not have a feeling of being efficacious with large units of government. James A. Norton, *The Metro Experience* (Cleveland: Press of Western Reserve University, 1963); Richard A. Watson and John H. Romani, "Metropolitan Government for Metropolitan Cleveland: An Analysis of the Voting Record," *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, 1961, pp. 365–390; Charles Press, *The Cities Within a Great City: A Decentralist Approach to Centralization* (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1963); Scott Greer, *Metropolitics: A Study of Political Culture* (New York: Wiley, 1963).

(5) W. B. Munro, *American Influences on Canadian Government* (Toronto: Macmillan Company, 1929). See also: T. J. Plunkett, *Urban Canada and Its Government: A Study of Municipal Organization* (Toronto: Macmillan Company, 1962); and D. C. Rowat, *The Canadian Municipal System*, Carleton Library, No. 48 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969).

It is the rare municipal election in recent years which has surpassed 50 per cent in voting participation and most have had turnout figures far below this. Aggregate voting results are, of course, no indication of the state of the public mind vis-a-vis the several spheres or levels of politics, but in this case it would seem that the general apathy of the public in community elections is paralleled by, indeed caused by, greater indifference to local political matters than provincial or federal matters. For example, Edmontonians are less interested in local than in national politics; only 30 per cent of them report that they are particularly ("extremely" or "quite") interested in the former compared to 50 per cent for the latter.[6]

This general political apathy about local politics is part and parcel of a broader syndrome of local political orientation comprising not only indifference but also a qualitative distinction between higher level politics (considered to be really "politics") and local issues and problems (regarded as merely "administration," "services," and the like). The upshot of this orientation is that many people do not conceive of themselves, individually or collectively, as having political roles in community decision-making processes. The responses of Edmontonians to some questions asked of them in a recent survey are interesting from this standpoint and tend to support the above characterization of the local political syndrome (see Table 1).

TABLE 1
RESPONSES OF EDMONTONIANS TO SELECTED QUESTIONS ABOUT LOCAL POLITICS (N = 255)

Question	Per cent response
"Edmonton is a very good community in which to live." (Agree)	94.4
"I approve of the way the city government is run." (Agree)	73.3
"There is practically nothing the city does that couldn't be done as well, if not better, by the provincial government." (Disagree)	78.7
"A city is like a business and should be run by appointed managers rather than by elected politicians." (Agree)	41.2
"People like me don't have any say about what the city government does." (Agree)	40.0
"Sometimes local affairs here seem so complicated that a p ike me can't understand what's going on." (Agree)	57.2

Source: A survey conducted in October, 1968, under the direction of Robert Gilsdorf.

(6) Results of an unpublished survey directed by Robert Gilsdorf in October, 1968. For other findings see Table 1.

We are not suggesting that the entire public fits into the above characterization, for it is probable that some persons are just as active in local as in federal and provincial politics, while others are active in the former and not the latter. An important part of any systematic research work addressing the local political involvement of Albertans would be the determination of their local political orientations, the correlation of these orientations with, perhaps, national political orientations, and the underlying causes of apathetic versus activist orientations.

How far we could generalize the findings from a study confined to Edmonton is an important question. In seeking to expand our understanding of local political involvement we must of necessity move in the direction of comparative studies of local communities differing in size, governmental structure, social structure, and so on. At the same time that we move in the direction of greater extensiveness, research of greater depth must be undertaken to gain a more refined understanding of the various local political orientations and their underlying causes.

Local Government Structures

In pursuing the underlying causes of local political involvement, we might begin with a brief consideration of the local governmental structures that govern voting participation. Municipal elections throughout Alberta are nonpartisan; furthermore, members of municipal councils in Alberta are generally elected from the city-at-large. (Calgary has had a ward system since 1961 and Edmonton has adopted a hybrid system of large, multi-member wards which becomes effective in 1971. These are the only exceptions to the rule that councils are elected on an at-large basis.)

Both of these features stem from the essentially middle-class goals of the reformers who sought to exorcise political parties from local politics. Polemics aside – whether the "haves" were also trying to exclude the "have-nots" from city politics – the fact is that the nonpartisan election system, irrespective of the effects of social, structural, and economic characteristics of cities, has definite inhibiting effects on voter turnout compared to the partisan system.[7] Although the impact of the at-large versus the ward system on voting turnout has not been systematically explored, it is likely that the former also serves to deter voting participation. Since elections in Alberta's urban communities have characteristically been both

(7) Although limited to cities over 25,000 in population, probably the best study to date is Robert R. Alford and Eugene C. Lee, "Voting Turnout in American Cities," *American Political Science Review*, LXII (September, 1968), pp. 796–813.

non-partisan and at-large, these factors may well constitute an explanation of low voter participation.

These governmental structures have a generally inhibiting effect on voter participation for several reasons relating to factors lacking in the local setting but present in the national and provincial setting – the cue-providing and campaign-stimulating functions performed by political parties. Furthermore, the added complexities created for the voter in the large cities by long lists of aldermanic candidates (especially in an at-large system) is an additional deterrent to voting participation.[8]

Given the unavailability of information about local candidates (who often do not take clear positions on issues in the first place) and the unwillingness of many persons to pay the necessary "costs" to gain information about the candidates, the public in large part either opts out of the process of choosing its local decision-makers or simply returns the incumbents to office.[9] Another outcome of the nonpartisan system is the greater tendency for voting decisions to be made according to ethnic or other communal criteria, which like incumbency (which also brings greater visibility) serve as cues to voters in an unstructured situation.[10]

The governmental structures mentioned have had several effects on local political processes. Among these effects is the breeding of cognitive confusion among voters, followed by indifference and apathy. If such effects do not directly aggravate the present state of low public

(8) Civic groups sponsoring slates of candidates for municipal elections, such as Edmonton has had in most recent elections, might perform surrogate or quasi-party functions in organizing campaigns and providing cues to voters. A preliminary aggregate analysis of the 1963 and 1964 civic elections in Edmonton suggests that this is the case to some extent; the poll-by-poll correlations of candidates' votes in 1963 showed a definite clustering of the votes of candidates sponsored by each of the groups; however, in 1964, when there were many more candidates, clustering was much less evident. R. Gilsdorf is currently conducting an analysis of 1968 survey data to see if the major civic group in that election, the "Bodie slate," had such an effect on voters.

(9) See Charles E. Gilbert and Christopher Clague, "Electoral Competition and Electoral Systems in Large Cities," *Journal of Politics*, XXIV (May, 1962), pp. 323–349, who find that "nonpartisan, and especially at-large, elections tend to increase the security of incumbent councilmen" (p. 341). Experience in Edmonton and Calgary, the former with an at-large system and the latter with a ward system gives support to their findings. Over the past 20 years, only about four out of more than seventy incumbent aldermen in Edmonton have been defeated for re-election. In the 1969 election alone, two incumbents were defeated in Calgary.

(10) See Edward C. Banfield and James Q. Wilson, *City Politics* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1963), pp. 224–231; Gerald Pomper, "Ethnic and Group Voting in Nonpartisan Municipal Elections," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XXX (Spring, 1966), pp. 79–97.

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involvement in local politics, they certainly do nothing to improve it: nor do they have a positive effect in reducing the feelings of large segments of the public that they have no meaningful role in the running of their communities.[11]

Numerous studies have shown the negativistic attitudes and voting of these alienated segments of the public when they do participate in referenda on community issues.[12] That the better-off socio-economic groups in the community are, as a rule, more likely to dominate local decision-making processes is generally conceded.[13] It is a moot question whether policy considerations are particularly salient matters to many voters when they choose their local public officials. This raises some doubts about the "inputs" into local decision-making processes and the criteria by which officials select problems for their attention, formulate policies, and make decisions.

Interpretations will vary as to the seriousness of the above state of affairs, the most appropriate way to alter it, or the need to alter it. After all, views differ as to the value to be placed on public participation, the responsiveness of officials to public demands, continuity in office of public officials, ethnic representation in decision-making bodies, and so on. It is not our intention here either to try to state these broader implications or to advocate a particular set of values. Nor are we building a case for the adoption of partisan elections and ward representation. Our case is simply that the adoption of certain governmental structures may debilitate local political involvement and the political functioning of communities. The determination of the extent to which this has actually occurred would require greater and more systematic research effort than the casual attention paid to these matters in the past.

Urban Political Research

The research effort referred to above could probably be focused on the characteristics of the "urban political syndrome" (at the collective

(11) In the 1968 survey in Edmonton, the reasons given by most respondents in favor of changing to a ward system fall into categories that might be labeled as "necessary cognitive simplification" and "better representation of their area and its problems."

(12) See, for example, Edward L. McDill and Jeanne Clare Ridley, "Status, Anomie, Political Alienation, and Political Participation," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXVIII (September, 1962), pp. 205–213; William A. Gamson, "The Fluoridation Dialogue: Is It an Ideological Conflict?" *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XXV (Winter, 1961), pp. 526–537; John E. Horton and Wayne E. Thompson, "Powerlessness and Political Negativism: A Study of Defeated Local Referendums," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXVII (March, 1962), pp. 485-493.

(13) Banfield and Wilson, *op cit.*, Chapter 12; Charles R. Adrian, "Some General Characteristics of Nonpartisan Elections," *American Political Science Review*, XLVI (1952), pp. 766-776.

level) or "local political orientations" (at the individual level). The proposed research effort would also study the causes and consequences of the syndrome or orientations. In searching for the causes, we would have to go beyond the variables of governmental structure discussed above, since in Alberta there is little variation in these structures. Studies could be undertaken, however, to trace the above-mentioned effects of these institutions, to determine whether the problem is more accurately one of mere size of community as opposed to the structures themselves. It might be profitable to carry out some studies comparing Edmonton to Calgary and Edmonton before to Edmonton after the change to a ward system.

We would need to incorporate in the research design variables characterizing individuals (demographic, attitudinal, etc.) and communities (size, social structure, etc.), and very likely sub-parts of communities as well.[14] While the explanation of local political orientations would in itself constitute a necessary and worthwhile research endeavor, these orientations can also be viewed as intervening variables in a research design aimed at the explanation of community decision-making, "power structures," policy output, and the like.

The research opportunities in Canadian urban centres are virtually unlimited for the political scientist. Examples include an examination of the feasibility of partisan political systems at the local level; an examination of the socio-economic and ethnic groups advantaged and disadvantaged at the local level by interest-group politics; and, last but not least, an examination of various forms of local government in order to determine the forms which best relate and reflect citizens' values to the decision-maker. All of this is in the realm of fundamental research; however, the findings would be of immeasurable value to the provincial government – they could, for example, lead to the formulation of changes in the Municipalities Act.

Our position is that a happy medium ought to be struck between the researcher's utopia and the practicalities of limited resources of time and money. We submit that a two-fold research strategy would bring in returns both for those whose interest in urban political problems is basically intellectual and for those whose interest is more practical ("applied"). This two-fold strategy would have two focuses: (a) the

(14) In a study of four cities in Wisconsin, it was found that social status, organizational activity, and home ownership were the major variables accounting for degree of local political involvement. Environmental factors such as type of neighborhood or city, attitudinal variables, length of residence in the community, and subjective attachment to the community were found to be considerably less important variables. See Robert R. Alford and Harry M. Scoble, "Sources of Local Political Involvement," *American Political Science Review*, LXII (December, 1968), pp. 1192–1206; and Robert R. Alford, *Bureaucracy and participation: Political Cultures in Four Wisconsin Cities* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1969).

methodology and techniques of aggregate or ecological approaches to community political activity, in which local communities (sub-areas) are treated as the units of analysis and various types of community (sub-area) characteristics are related in systematic fashion to each other and to intervening and dependent variables of voting participation, the turnover of elected officials, policy output, and so forth; and (b) sample surveys of eligible voters in various communities, in which the units of analysis are individuals whom we can classify according to their perceptions, attitudes, and political involvement, and the range of individual demographic and contextual (community) variables.

Since there are limitations on our ability to generalize findings from collectives to individuals and *vice versa*, and since research utilizing samples of voters from a large number of communities would be prohibitively expensive, the best compromise strategy may be to select samples from a small number of representative communities. In order to follow this strategy, it would probably be best to phase the investigation and to follow phase (a) by phase (b).

The political scientist is just as much at home doing applied research as fundamental research. In the past decade, the area in which the largest number of studies have been commissioned is that of governmental reorganization. Community leaders have asked political scientists to put together a package which would sell governmental reorganization within a particular urban area. With Alberta becoming increasing urbanized, many communities would benefit greatly from studies of this kind.

Another area in which the political scientist is becoming involved is that of examining the political implications of proposed economic and social programs. City governments have commissioned political scientists to calculate the possible political outcomes of a particular economic or social policy. Among the devices which have been used to ascertain such outcomes is the political opinion poll. In some urban areas in the United States, extensive socio-economic and political information data banks have been acquired on a geographical basis. These information and data are made available to any individual for a nominal fee. Candidates for public office have been able to use this type of information in developing their campaign strategies.

Advocating citizen participation in governmental decision-making has become quite popular in recent times. In fact, the term "participatory democracy" has been coined for this phenomenon. The political scientist could make a contribution to community leadership by conducting studies to determine the effect on policy-making of grass-roots participation or lack of it. Although in recent years, there

have been numerous popular and polemical articles written on "participatory democracy", little hard-nosed social science research has been conducted.[15] One could posit two contradictory propositions about the effects of participatory democracy. The first is that mass participation by the populace results in policies which are truly in the "public interest". The second is that mass participation causes such deep cleavages in the community that policy-making inevitably is stalemated by attempts to satisfy all interests. Whether either one of the two propositions is valid is unknown.

Bernard Frieden and Robert Morris present three reasons why citizen participation is increasingly becoming a factor with which government must contend when formulating policy:

(1) At the action level, reform seeks to redress the grievances of special groups, either through advocacy of these group needs or through organization of the poor into a more effective political voice.

(2) Organizations and governmental departments have developed a science of adminstration which considers, among other things, the relation of any formal organization to its constituents.

(3) And in recent years professional groups interested in crime and in mental health have come to believe that the alienation of the poor from the vital centers of urban life accounts for the growing rates of deviance – which can be overcome, as a therapeutic measure, by the involvement of such groups in city affairs.[16]

Political scientists are being asked to devise ways for the "poor" to participate at the local level and to evaluate situations where the poor were involved but were unsuccessful in their venture. In essence, the political scientist has been called on to develop mechanisms through which the poor can in some way control the destiny of their own communities.[17]

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x(15) One of the better studies in this area is: Ralph M. Kramer, *Participation of the Poor* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1969).

(16) Bernard J. Frieden and Robert Morris (eds.), *Urban Planning and Social Policy* (New York: Basic Books, 1968), p. 178.

(17) Some of the better critiques of the inadequacies of renewal programs are: Scott Greer, *Urban Renewal and American Cities* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965); Herbert J. Gans, *People and Plans* (New York: Basic Books, 1968); Herbert J. Gans, *The Urban Villagers* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1962); Chester Hartman, "The Housing of Relocated Families," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, XXX (November, 1964), 266–268.

In the area of applied research, the political scientist has been able to make contributions in evaluating citizen participation in urban renewal programs. One could argue that such findings have led to changes in urban renewal legislation in the United States resulting in much greater concern for the dispossessed families.

With but one or two exceptions, where the political scientist has been engaged in applied research, he has continually relied on fundamental research. On the other hand, applied research will often trigger theory-building and fundamental research. Thus, the two are so inter-twined that it is virtually impossible neatly to compartmentalize the two.

URBANIZATION IN ALBERTA: A SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Earle L. Snider and George Kupfer*

Alberta, like the rest of Canada, is becoming increasingly urbanized and rural-urban migration makes a significant contribution to urbanization. The new city dweller must become both culturally and economically integrated in order to perform successfully his social roles. Three phases of the process of integration are proposed:

(1) Acculturation (the procedure of learning the skills necessary for urban integration);
(2) Adjustment (the manner in which the urban-dweller performs his roles); and
(3) Participation (the channelling of one's interests into active involvement in the urban community).

The approach to research on urban problems should be multi-disciplinary and should extend beyond the university to involve government, industry and the private sector. A basic research program in urban studies should include the collection of basic data and an analysis of the effects of policies and programs on people. A series of workshops culminating in a provincial urban conference could provide guidelines for the solution of problems.

The development of an Alberta urban studies institute which would produce urbanologists with specialized training should be encouraged by the provincial government. The government should stimulate the development of social accounting techniques, and research by private enterprise should be encouraged.

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Introduction

To some extent, all urban dwellers are "migrants", regardless of their duration of residence in the city. Where the migrant from a small town is faced with a myriad of decisions when first he enters the new urban milieu, the long-term urban resident is also forced continually to appraise his relationship with the city, its amenities, and its inhabitants. The urban dweller is barraged with stimuli, overwhelmed with the magnitude of his environment, and assaulted by the liberties the city takes with its demands upon his time, his dollars, and his soul. The city is dynamic, its residents continually forced to change.

The purpose of this paper is to provide an overview of the urban processes so that the reader can isolate that aspect of the problem that interests him without losing sight of the total phenomenon. After establishing this basis for understanding urbanization and urbanism, our other objectives will be outlined. We view our work as an attempt to clarify the dimensions of urbanism in Alberta and to take positions on what might be done to handle urban problems. We see this as an "idea paper" and not as a research summary or an analysis of urban literature. Each of our arguments can, and indeed should, be pursued in greater depth with greater documentation.

Urbanization in Canada and Alberta

Canada's population is rapidly becoming urbanized and is concentrating in urban areas. Between 1851 and 1961, the proportion of Canada's population residing in urban areas increased from 13.3 per cent to 69.7 per cent.[1] The doubling of urban population every 40 years since Confederation and our low birth and death rates suggest we are proceeding through a demographic transition much faster and more easily than are European countries. This shift has resulted in a reduction of our agricultural labor force: in 1940, the non-agricultural labor force out-numbered the agricultural labor force two to one; in 1980, the ratio is expected to have increased to 10:1.[2] These factors, combined over the last hundred years with the advances in life expectations at birth of three years per decade for males and four years per decade for females, suggest that more people will be living in cities and that they will be living there longer.[3]

(1) See Leroy O. Stone, *Urban Development in Canada* (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1967), p. 29.

(2) For a discussion of the changing character of Canadian population, see N. Keyfitz, "The Changing Canadian Population," in S. D. Clark (ed.), *Urbanism and the Changing Canadian Society* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), p. 6

(3) *Ibid* , p. 11.

Patterns of urbanization in Canada vary according to region. Ontario is the most urbanized province at 77 per cent, while Prince Edward Island, with only 32 per cent of its population living in urban areas, is the least urbanized. Only Ontario, Quebec, and British Columbia exceed the national average for urban population. Alberta, Manitoba, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland are over 50 per cent urbanized, but below the national average.[4]

Alberta is rapidly becoming more urbanized and this process will continue. In 1901, the province was only one-half as urbanized as the nation as a whole; since that time our increase in rate of urbanization has been double that of the nation. Since the end of World War II, the increase in Alberta's urban population has been nearly three times the national average for each decennial period.[5] In 1951, the proportions of Alberta's population living in urban and rural areas were approximately equal; 15 years later, twice as many people lived in urban as in rural areas. (See Tables 1, 2, and 3.)

Alberta's urban population has grown as a result of rural-urban migration, direct inter-urban migration from outside the province, re-classification of rural areas to urban designations, and the excess of births over deaths. The increase in points of population concentration, the increase in size of individual concentrations,[6] and the social transition from small, isolated farms to densely populated, heterogeneous urban areas has not been without problems. A promise of opportunity in the city is often not fulfilled for migrants who lack the skills and value orientations necessary for city life. City living presents obstacles to the migrant and to the long-term urban resident alike.

Instead of the relatively uncomplicated social system of a rural area, the city dweller finds himself in a series of segmented human relationships, divided allegiances, and new role responsibilities, all part of the price he pays for the conveniences of urban living. Traffic congestion, higher taxes, and multiplication of social obligations effectively immobilize some, confuse others, and frustrate the remainder. Each of us in his own way surrenders to the complexities of urban life: we may become selfish and lose pride in the accomplishments achieved through city living. Those who suffer discrimination (the poor, the Indian) are in double jeopardy: not only are they reduced to being particles of the metropolis, a fate they share with all other urban dwellers, but they are often deprived of the

(4) Stone, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 29.

(6) See Table 2.

necessities which make possible a minimum quality of urban life – an adequate home and access to urban amenities.

Our search for solutions to this crisis in urban living is hampered by conflicting ideas about the desired ends of urban life. For example, the life-style of the urban dweller will depend on his standard of living and participation patterns. To comprehend the problems of the urban dweller and to suggest possible solutions requires that we direct our efforts at understanding the *process* of urban integration. To proceed otherwise is to diagnose common symptoms for uncommon causes and leads to standard solutions inappropriate to dissimilar conditions.

Table 1
Urban* and Rural Populations
Alberta: 1951 – 1966

Urban Area	Urban Population			
	1951	1956	1961	1966
Cities	365,802	522,067	722,646	851,221
Towns	64,286	90,456	124,141	152,877
Villages			1,323	1,174
Total Urban Population	430,088	612,523	848,110	1,005,272
Total Rural Population	503,801	505,013	503,251	479,790

Source: W. McVey, Population Research Laboratory, Department of Sociology, University of Alberta.

*Urban population is defined in the 1961 Census of Canada as all cities, towns, and villages of 1,000 population and over, whether incorporated or not. The remainder of the population was classified as rural.

Table 2
Urban and Rural Populations
Alberta: 1951 – 1966
Percentage Distribution

Population	1951	1956	1961	1966
Urban	46.0	54.8	62.8	67.6
Rural	54.0	45.2	37.2	32.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 3
City Population (a) Alberta: 1901 – 1966

City	1966-b	1961-b	1956-b	1951-b	1941-c	1931-c	1921-c	1911-c	1901-d
Calgary	330.575*	279,062*	201,022*	142,314*	88,904	83,761	63,305	43,704	4,392
Camrose	8,362	6,939	5,817	4,131	2,598	2,258	1,892	1,586	—
Edmonton	401,299*	337,568*	254,800*	176,782*	93,817	79,197	58,821	24,900	2,626
Grande Prairie	11,417	8,352	6,302	2,664	1,724	1,464	1,061	—	—
Lethbridge	37,186	35,454	29,462	22,947	14,612	13,489	11,097	8,050	2,072
Medicine Hat	25,574	24,484	20,826	16,364	10,571	10,300	9,634	5,608	1,570
Red Deer	26,171	19,612	12,388	7,575	2,924	2,344	2,328	2,118	323
Wetaskiwin	6,008	5,300	4,476	3,824	2,318	2,125	2,061	2,411	550
Total number of cities (5,000+)	8	8	7	5	4	4	4	4	0
Total city population	846,592	716,771	530,603	365,982	207,904	186,747	142,857	82,262	—

(a) City defined as incorporated area with 5,000 population or more in 1961.

(b) Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, data, *Population 1 – Trends* (Edmonton: Department of Municipal Affairs, September, 1967), p. 4.

(c) Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Eighth Census of Canada, 1941, Population by Local Subdivision*, Volume II (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1944), pp. 134–141.

(d) Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Seventh Census of Canada, 1935, Population by Area*, Volume II (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1933), pp. 98–102.

*Metropolitan area figures are given for Edmonton and Calgary in the census years 1951 – 1966.

Source: W. McVey, Population Research Laboratory, Department of Sociology, University of Alberta.

Urban Integration

Most notions of integration imply that the urban dweller forfeits some of his identity in adapting himself to the prevailing cultural milieu. We can think of this in terms of a physiological analogy; a nutriment is taken into the system of a living organism where it "ultimately becomes part of the physical body".[7] This analogy provides little insight, however, into the process through which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons and, sharing such experience, are incorporated into a common cultural life.[8] Differences between the entering and receiving groups slowly disappear. The loss of old identities and loyalties heralds the eventual common culture, and the net effect of integration is more significant than mere acceptance of certain cultural mores.

The persistence of cultural traits, in spite of fluctuations in the labor market, community conflicts, and the like, suggests that all urban dwellers do not conform to a common set of values. The dull sameness of urbanism as a *way* of life is rejected here in favor of viewing urbanism as a way of *life*.[9] There are great variations in the urban context; an individual can associate with the particular context he desires, and find an outlet for his preferred form of expression.

To perform successfully his social roles, an urban dweller must achieve two forms of integration.[10] First, he must be culturally integrated into the local milieu. He must no longer be distinguishable from members of the host community or society. This entails not only the borrowing of cultural traits and behavior patterns but a change in behavior such that his self-concept changes; he accepts the beliefs of the host community as well as its food habits, dress, and other cultural mores.

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(7) Henry Pratt Fairchild, *Immigration* (New York: Dryden Press, 1925), p. 39bff.

(8) These elements are stressed in Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1921), p. 735. They become the basis for the definition of urban integration or assimilation presented in Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 62.

(9) This distinction is elaborated upon in Gregory P. Stone, "City Shoppers and Urban Identification: Observations of the Social Psychology of City Life", *American Journal of Sociology*, LX (July, 1954), p. 36.

(10) This argument is presented in Lyle W. Shannon and Magdaline Shannon, "The Assimilation of Migrants to Cities", in Leo F. Schmore and Henry Fagin (eds.) *Urban Research and Policy Planning: 1* (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, Inc., 1967), p. 50.

Second, through the avenue of full-time employment, the urban dweller must achieve economic integration. New roles are learned, a transformation of primary group values takes place, and participation is extended beyond primary groups into the main spheres of the urban social system. This involves not only securing work, but "becoming a part of the regularly employed labor force at a level consistent with one's capabilities and the capabilities of others at every level or position of the economic institution,"[11]; that is, one's proper place in the system.

Full-time employment is a necessary but not sufficient condition for urban integration. The securing of employment makes possible personal adjustment and more complete cultural integration; the work setting exposes the urban dweller to the cultural patterns which he is expected to internalize and adhere to. The establishment and pervasiveness of ethnic enclosures in highly urbanized regions demonstrates that economic absorption can take place without cultural integration.

These two factors, useful as they are, neglect some of the ameliorating and mitigating factors which often influence the urban dweller's eventual cultural integration or economic absorption. The problems the urban dweller faces during a transition period and the receptiveness of the community to him, among other factors, all influence the extent to which he will become assimilated.

What are the processes by which migrant and city dweller alike acquire the behavioral patterns of the larger society, and learn to play the major roles appropriate to their positions in city and society?

We propose three phases of urban integration, although the actual number might vary with cultural factors and situational effects (for example, the level of economic development). While each of the concepts has multiple referents, the relationship among them adequately reflects the process.[12]

(11) See Lyle W. Shannon, "The Economic Absorption and Cultural Integration of Immigrant Workers: Characteristics of the Individual vs. The Nature of the System" (paper presented at the Conference on Migration and Behavioral Deviance, San Juan, Puerto Rico, November 6–8, 1968), p. 4.

(12) Our approach is modelled after that of Gino Germani, "Migration and Acculturation", in Philip M. Hauser (ed.), *Handbook for Social Research in Urban Areas* (New York: UNESCO, 1965), pp. 159–78.

1. **Acculturation.** Acculturation is defined as the procedure and degree of acquisition and learning, by the city dweller, of urban behavior, including the necessary roles, habits, attitudes, values, and knowledge. During the period of acculturation, the urban dweller learns the statuses and roles functional in an urban-industrial society. This assumes, of course, that he engages in the activities appropriate for exposure to such roles and statuses.

Different forms and degrees of acculturation take place. Cultural integration and economic absorption are included, since both adapting or acquiring behavior patterns and securing work in the regular labor force are necessary pre-conditions to integration into the larger society. Another form of acculturation occurs through certain kinds of learning. Some kinds, for example memorizing bus routes, are easy, whereas those dominated by emotional and affective components (such as when to say what to whom) are more difficult.

Acculturation, in a societal framework of cultural pluralism, demands conformity to certain norms (freedom of speech, for example) but permits a range of behavioral patterns within limits set by commonly accepted and valued goals. The forces encouraging and discouraging integration within various cultural milieu are therefore important considerations

Mention should be made of a special case of acculturation, the ethnic enclosure. Here, a network of organizations and informal relationships develops which permits and encourages the members of the ethnic group to remain within the confines of the group for all of their primary relationships and some of their secondary relationships throughout all stages of the life cycle.[13] Such a style of interaction may also apply to specialized activities which tend to pre-empt most or all other primary group relationships, while secondary relationships are carried out in spheres of institutional life encompassing the community as a whole. This accounts for the pull of migrants into both occupational and geographical areas already peopled by their ethnic or cultural group. Such activity reduces the probability of total acculturation because of lack of contact with the host population in such settings as school, church, and neighborhood. On the other hand, this near-exclusive association with members of the same cultural group may aid the migrant in his personal adjustment to the city.

(13) Many excellent case studies focus on ethnic groups. Better examples are Herbert J. Gans, *Levittowners* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1967); H. Cayton and St. Clair Drake, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (New York: Harper Touchbacks, 1962); and Bennett Berger, *Working Class Suburb* (Berkeley:University of California Press, 1967).

2. **Adjustment**. Adjustment refers to the manner in which the urban dweller performs his roles in the various spheres of activity in which he participates. Our interest here is focused on the way he adjusts to such conditions as housing and welfare in the city. One indication of his ability and desire to adjust is his willingness to take poorly paid, unskilled jobs. This criterion is more applicable to rural migrants, unaccustomed to mobility, who eventually become concentrated in service-production occupations (semi-skilled and unskilled occupations). The adjusted urban dweller is more likely to have established a stable pattern of life, and, because he has developed a stable set of norms applicable in most environments, his movements are not necessarily disorganizing to him. Such flexibility in the face of changing habits, attitudes, and customs is another indication of the ability to adjust.

The personal and social disorganization which some writers cite as a result of urban life may be seen as the antithesis of life in the rural, tradition-bound community. The latter is a more intimate, family-oriented, sacred, and consensual style of life. Mumford[14] refers to the phenomenon as "negative symbiosis" and Hall[15] speaks of the resulting "behavioural sink" which, through the complexities of dealing with strange communication systems and uncongenial spaces, creates feelings of deprivation, conflict, and/or hostility.

The new city dweller only slowly becomes adjusted to his physical and socio-cultural environment. The more sophisticated he is, the more critical he is of the shortcomings in his new environment; this can make his integration more difficult. His first impressions of his new environment influence the whole subsequent course of the assimilation process. If these impressions are unfavorable, the adjustment will be slower and more difficult. Attitudes toward the community with respect to its inhabitants and facilities of the community could either inhibit integration, or facilitate it by minimizing the effects of previous attachments.

The presence of strong family and kinship ties may act as a brake on assimilation if the family constrains those activities essential to assimilation. Advantages accrue however, where the family belongs to associations, and where the prior presence of family members in the urban centre encouraged migration. Strong attachments to family *not*

(14) Lewis Mumford, "Mission of the City", in S. Reimer, *et al* (eds.), *Metropolis: Values in Conflict* (New York: Wordsworth Publishing Company, 1962), p. 44.

(15) Edward T. Hall, *The Hidden Dimension* (New York: Doubleday, 1966), p. 157.

present in the urban area, however, will effectively brake assimilation and may induce the migrant to return home. The immense value of kin accrues to the migrant who travels to strange surroundings where he has no other contacts. With time, kin may be replaced for this purpose by newly-found friends, neighbors, and co-workers. Whatever their form, contacts are necessary for complete acculturation to the values and life style of the city.

Adjustment to a new environment is conditioned by many factors, including the immigrant's original reason for leaving the place of origin and choosing the place of destination. A concern with purely economic factors may lead to problems of adjustment which can be facilitated by a careful assessment of other factors: (a) manifest motives – economic, educational, and other reasons; (b) manifest intention of the migrant regarding the temporary or permanent nature of the migration; and (c) nature of the decision – the degree of deliberation, from high rationality to sheer impulse.

Feelings of satisfaction expressed by urban residents represent another important source of adjustment. What is important is the specification of social experiences that make for the successful transmission of values and behavioral patterns. This specification makes possible the provision of opportunities for those social experiences that are most likely to facilitate the migrant's adjustment in any given city, depending on its social organization and level of economic development.

3. **Participation.** Where acculturation and adjustment provide basic social and cultural skills, participation channels such activity beyond life-maintaining functions into the realm of active involvement in the urban community. Although participation may serve to link together various roles necessary to maintain the routine activities of the community (or other secondary group), the extent and nature of such participation is a function of the degree of acculturation and adjustment. While the order of the three phases may vary, meaningful participation is possible only after acculturation and adjustment have occurred to some extent.

Participation in the form of assuming leadership in community organizations is a function of both the opportunity for the migrant to engage in such activity and his motivation to do so. Time, in combination with experience in the new environment, will lead to increased participation and the ability to adjust to new and changing situations. Such urban values as planning are likely to emerge from such an adjustment. Equal and full exposure to urban norms and expectations is possible, however, only when participation is not

inhibited by discrimination or other overt attempts to restrict the flow of information and/or resources.

The traditional view of the impact of urbanization on group membership emphasizes the impersonality of relationships in the urban community, the decline of kinship ties, and the resulting importance of formal and secondary group membership. A more accurate view would be that the informal contacts necessitated and spawned by absence of kin have performed a replacement function for kin. Kinship ties now play a changed, more circumscribed role and are a less pervasive force in urbanization.

The great usefulness of this way of looking at the process of urban integration can be seen in the idea that the city not only affects its residents but also that they affect their environment. Granted, "the city is people", but the city is also a population of substantial size, organized to live at high density. Since the culture and social structure of a city are to a large degree the product of the interaction of its people, we see that as the characteristics and interaction patterns of an urban population change, the culture and social structure of the city also changes.

All urban residents are not incorporated to the same degree into their urban surroundings, nor have they equal potential for effecting change in their environment. The poor, the old, the young, the minority groups, the migrants, and the underemployed require special consideration. To comprehend the extent of their alienation from the city, we must undertake systematic research efforts within the framework of urban integration discussed earlier in this paper.

To fail to take the offensive in this area guarantees failure in developing new solutions to old urban problems. Urban renewal, new towns, and suburbia are new only in the sense that the land they occupy is undergoing a different land use -- the social organization of their inhabitants reflects the old urban patterns.

Implications and Recommendations

Urban-related problems are important, urgent, and complex, necessitating a substantial investment of resources. Whatever organizational arrangements are selected for the systematic study of urban problems, the approach should be multi-disciplinary; it should involve government, industry, the universities, and the public sector; and it should relate the key ideas of population, environment, technology, and social organization. Only a framework of this kind, which views each program of action as having consequences for the entire city, will

allow a form of analysis and action adequate to cope with the effects of urbanization. One must also assume that the forces at work are identifiable and subject to intervention strategies. Our view also stresses the goal of bringing existing organizations into a closer coalition around the problems of the city, rather than of creating new organizations to deal with specific problems.

Some recommendations for urban research:

(a) The Human Resources Research Council should develop a basic research program on urban problems. This should include an emphasis on basic data as well as an analysis of the effects of specified policies and programs. By basic research, we mean research that yields information fundamental to any serious discussion of a problem. For example, any discussion of the condition of native people in the city currently is based on feelings, guesses, or random observations. Questions about the number of natives, their living accommodations, employment opportunities, migration patterns – as well as questions of attitude and perception – remain undocumented. The same can be said of another urban group, the poor. The Council should identify these basic problem areas, research them, and accumulate relevant information available from other sources.

(b) The provincial government, in conjunction with the universities and industry, should establish a series of workshops focused on urban problems. These workshops should be held in different Alberta cities to consider problems in a sequential pattern, to build intelligently toward a concluding conference. A team of urban specialists could be sent to each workshop, or local teams could be developed. These workshops would serve to disseminate information on current policies and programs and to define problems. Their scope should be broad, and a wide spectrum of citizens should be involved. The workshops could be patterned after the urban workshops organized by the Brookings Insitution.[16]

(c) The workshops should culminate in a provincial urban conference which would attempt to present an analysis of urban problems relevant to Alberta and to develop guidelines for problem resolution. Experts might be used to enlighten the conference on matters developed in the workshops.[17]

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(16) See Vols. 1–4 *The Urban Policy Conference Program, Phoenix Metropolitan Area* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1963).

(17) See John Lear, "Northwest Passage to What", *Saturday Review*, Nov. 1, 1969, (Report on voyage of the Manhattan and Alaska Response).

(d) The provincial government and the universities should seriously consider putting "the university" back into the community rather than developing a fourth, semi-isolated, independent university. This university of the community should be set up in the downtown area close to business, government, and the "urban slum". All departments offering professional degrees should be represented in this location. Since downtown shopping and entertainment-seeking are still a part of Alberta urban behavior, a university so situated would facilitate interaction between the university and various client groups. Students' demands for relevance and social participation could also be realized. Classes, workshops, and projects could be developed on a drop-in basis, and would be tailored to accommodate busy citizens. Students and faculty would mingle more directly with the community. Such a university could utilize existing buildings or rent space in new office towers. It would indicate that the university wants to provide an easily accessible door to learning and to encourage citizens' dialogue along with their participation in the learning experience. [18]

(e) In addition to the above measures, the provincial government should encourage the development of an Alberta urban studies institute or centre. The studies of such an institute would focus on Alberta cities and would utilize the resources of many agencies and institutions in the training of urbanologists. The institute would become a centre for educational materials and human resources appropriate to the range of urban problems. Such an institute would have formal ties to governments, business enterprises, the public-at-large, and provincial universities. Alberta cannot provide duplicate services in all disciplines and/or all universities – one province-wide program would permit an efficient use of resources. (Several such institutes have developed in the United States, some of them statewide in operation.) Its programs should relate to and utilize existing degree programs. Again, we suggest a central-city location for such an institute. The overall goal of the institute would be to produce urbanologists with specialized training and a general background in urban problems, persons sensitive to broadly-based environmental questions. [19]

(f) An urban study task force discussed by the government should grow out of, or along with, the workshops and conference suggested in (b) and (c) above and could be charged to bring in recommendations on items (d) and (e). This task force should be constituted soon and should

(18) See E. Moe, The University and the Community, Position Paper for the University of Utah, 1969.

(19) See *Proposed University of Texas System Graduate Program in Urban Affairs*, University of Texas, 1969.

be multi-disciplinary in composition. Its main charge should be to develop guidelines for a comprehensive urban policy for Alberta. Its focus would be future-oriented but it would also consider current problems. The initial discussion between the Alberta government and the mayors of Alberta cities was a good beginning.[20] The sessions were closed, however, and may not have heard a wide range of community opinion.

(g) Alberta has a significant number of non-urban dwellers who are influenced by the city in diverse ways; the city is a significant force in rural and small town affairs. On the assumption that rural (especially rural non-farm) dwellers benefit significantly from the existence of cities,[21] we suggest an Alberta urban extension team to travel the province in order to discuss urban problems, policies, and development, and attempt to answer questions. This team would disseminate information, provide a local forum on urban affairs, and gain insights and information on rural perspectives as they relate to Alberta cities. Liaison would be worked out with province-wide organizations such as the Alberta Union of Municipalities, the Farmer's Union of Alberta[22] and the extension programs of Alberta universities.

(h) A key issue involved in the response of urban goverments to urban problems lies in their fiscal and organizational incapacity to work out solutions to their own problems. A major review of urban government structure needs to be undertaken with a view to strengthening local governments. Incentive programs should be established to encourage local government employees to up-grade their skills in specified urban-related departments. The proposed urban institute could facilitate this objective through the provision of scholarships and flexible course scheduling.[23]

(i) Another area which needs strengthening is that of citizen participation in defining and solving urban problems. Urban community development activities need to be expanded. A core of trained workers could assist urban citizens to organize and to increase their

(20) "Future Life in Alberta" (Premier's Conference of Mayors and Municipalities), Edmonton, November 4–5, 1969.

(21) A good example of rural exploitation of urban amenities is in the area of educational facilities. For a discussion of municipal finance in Alberta read *Urban Crisis: Alberta Municipal Finance Study* (Calgary: City of Calgary, 1968).

(22) The Farmers' Union of Alberta has been subsumed under the Alberta Federation of Agriculture, since the paper was written.

(23) See T. Plunkett, *Urban Canada and its Government*, (Toronto: Macmillan, 1968).

participation in urban life. Community involvement in defining and solving urban problems must be more than a verbalized idea.[24]

(j) A direct incentive approach to private industry, formulated by the city and provincial governments, is needed. Private enterprise should accept the challenge of urban problems and apply its talents to them. This could be partially accomplished by using the request for-proposal approach. The government could outline problems and request that tenders be called for their handling. After such a competition, contracts would be let and companies and/or citizen groups could develop expertise in handling urban problems.[25]

(k) The government should stimulate the development of social accounting techniques. All programs, whether physical or social, should be expected to produce a social-environmental profit-and-loss sheet. Such a program on the part of government might help to assess the overall impact of programs and to develop social accounting procedures comparable to current fiscal auditing procedures. It would also place human resources and the overall condition of the social environment in an appropriate place of importance. The Human Resources Research Council could help stimulate this development by encouraging research in this area.[26]

Conclusion

This paper has focused on the general problems faced by the urban dweller. Alberta's urban areas are in the process of "becoming" and the urban dweller is living in a world of change. We have put forward suggestions as to what might be done to help understand the forces at work. Certainly, the above recommendations should be documented more fully with the specific view of selecting material which is significant for the province.

We advocate that urbanization and its consequences be given top government priority. We are cautiously optimistic that local conditions can be understood and effectively directed. Without comprehensive, intelligent foresight and action, Alberta's cities will also know the problems presently convulsing many of the major urban centres in the world.

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(24) See W. Biddle and L. Biddle, *The Community Development Process* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965); and M. G. Ross, *Community Organization* (New York: Harper and Row, 1967).

(25) See Manning's Request for Proposal Document, *Centennial Lecture Series* (Edmonton: Riddell, Stead and Co., 1969). (Allusions to it under name of E. C. Manning).

(26) See R. Bauer's Social *Indicators* (Cambridge, Mass: M.I.T. Press, 1966) and *Toward a Social Report* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1969).

ALTERNATIVES IN URBAN AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The papers which form this part of the monograph are based on two principles: (a) any research undertaken on urban life should be coordinated so that the various projects are interrelated; (b) any research done now should address not only existing problems but also those which are expected to occur in the future when the population of Alberta will be larger and more affluent, when the life styles of the people of Alberta will be different because of new technology and new institutional arrangements, and when the values of the people may have changed.

In other words, an urban research program should be organized so that it enables scholars from a variety of disciplines to have a common focus and so that their work is future-oriented. The highest priority should be given to an analysis of those public and private decisions which are most difficult to alter and which have the most lasting impact on the urban environment.

Consequently, the contributors to this part of the monograph argue that research efforts should focus on the physical design of the urban environment in order to determine the optimal design in terms of human aspirations, activities, and opportunities. This priority is necessitated by the obvious fact that when such things as street configurations, living densities, location of commercial activities, and parks are established, they are imprinted on the community for generations. Were an optimal design to be created, it would then be possible to examine the more flexible aspects of the human community.

The cities of Alberta have grown in a manner typical of inland North American cities. Fortunately, the cities in Alberta are relatively young communities and as yet they have experienced only a minimal amount of obsolescence in urban structures and networks. Even the largest centres – Edmonton and Calgary – have not yet reached the size where environmental quality has been diminished by such factors as pollution and traffic congestion. Nevertheless, it is inevitable that in the future they will encounter the same problems which contribute to the current North American urban crisis.

Many of these problems are caused by inadequacies in our design policies. For example:

1. Our cities are built in such a way that low-income groups are isolated in particular neighborhoods and are not exposed to middle-

class customs and values. This contributes to the fact that members of poor urban families have low expectations for upward occupational and social mobility.

2. We build our cities without sufficient concern for the technologies and life styles expected for the future. For example, we are entering an age of affluence, increasing participation of women in the labor force, declining work weeks, and earlier retirement. It is doubtful if our recreational and cultural facilities are being designed to be appropriate to these changing trends.

3. There is very little choice in urban housing for families with children, who are, generally speaking, limited to single-family dwellings. Consequently, freedom to choose between alternative life styles is restricted by the policies of the land-developer and mortgage financier.

4. Most large centres have followed a policy which encourages rapid population growth and geographic expansion. This has placed severe hardships on small towns and villages within the zones of influence of the large centres, to the extent that in many cases their very existence is threatened.

5. The process of expansion is inhibited by an inadequate taxation system and political structure. Urban communities are chronically under-financed and often unable to implement costly design concepts even though their long-run social benefit would be substantial. Furthermore, optimal design must often be sacrificed because of the conflicting policies of contiguous, political units.

These five points are discussed in the papers by Robert Wright, Louis Hamill, Michael Coulson, Peter Homenuck, and Stanley Drabek. These papers all have as their central theme the belief that high priority should be given to research on the impact of urban design on human welfare so that some of the problems mentioned above can be avoided in Alberta.

This section is concluded by a paper by Tim Tyler who also presents a case for the study of urban alternatives emphasizing the social welfare perspective. Dr. Tyler argues that the bureaucratization of the community, brought on by increasing urbanization and cybernation, requires the individual to learn new social skills in order to perform his new social roles effectively. The invention and testing of ways and means by which the individual can cope more effectively with his bureaucratized social environment is a pressing need.

URBAN DESIGN IN CALGARY

Robert W. Wright*

Research is proposed to evaluate the implications of alternative forms of physical expansion in Calgary. The alternative which has the greatest potential for creating an optimal urban environment is the high-density satellite, having a population of 25,000 to 50,000. Construction of these satellite cities would be phased to be consistent with demand; they would have an array of service facilities, and each would be connected to the core city by rapid transit. Dwellings would be either townhouses or apartments of approximately equal quality, thus eliminating segregation, by housing, of socio-economic classes.

The benefits of such developments would be economic, environmental, and – perhaps most significantly – social. We should make a conscious effort to create alternative urban designs with social-psychological considerations in mind.

Calgary is designed in a way typical of inland North American cities–a high-density core and low-density residential suburbs. This shape reflects the technology and social attitudes which have existed during the city's evolution. Recent evidence suggests that there are significant social costs[1] involved in this type of development. It is recommended that research be undertaken to evaluate the implications of alternative forms of physical expansion in Calgary.

Research Proposal

There is a variety of ways in which the City of Calgary can grow to accommodate its future expansion. Low-density suburbs could be built on the periphery; development could be controlled to direct growth into an elongated corridor stretching, perhaps, west from the city; the size of the city could be limited and an attempt made to strengthen the small communities in the immediate vicinity; the development of new high-density satellites could be encouraged.

All of these alternatives are worthy of investigation. However, for

(1) Social costs of a particular urban design include those negative aspects which are absent in alternative designs. It includes all factors having an adverse effect on the welfare of the residents irrespective of whether or not these factors enter the market place.

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a variety of reasons which I shall summarize in this paper. I believe that the latter—high-density satellites—offers the greatest possibilities for creating an optimal urban environment, and I therefore suggest that, initially, research efforts be directed toward an analysis of this particular form.

Specifically, I would like to consider an urban design for Calgary with the following characteristics:

(a) The virtual discontinuation of the expansion of housing in its present form (e.g. low-density residential suburbs and high-density, centrally located apartments).

(b) The construction of high density satellite communities, each with a population from 25,000 to 50,000; construction would be phased through time to be consistent with demand.

(c) No single-family dwellings in these satellite communities; all units would be townhouses or apartments.

(d) All dwelling units of essentially the same quality, with variations in size to make them suitable for any type of family; owner occupancy would be encouraged.

(e) A large shopping centre in each satellite including a wide array of service facilities: day-care centres, libraries, welfare and health agencies, schools, etc.

(f) A distance of several miles between satellites, with rapid transit connections to the core.

The example with which I am most familiar is Stockholm, Sweden, where the above characteristics pertain. For the purposes of my analysis, I would like to assume that in the City of Calgary almost all future development takes this form. The question to which I address myself is: what would be the benefits and costs of such a policy?

I suspect that the items listed in Table 1 would all have some relevance, and the objective of the research would be to provide

quantitative and qualitative details of these and other factors.

I will discuss some of these items briefly and predict some of the results that I would expect from detailed research. Benefits 1 to 3 could be estimated by engineering and architectural studies. There have been numerous studies in these areas and they could be adapted to local data and circumstances. I believe that there would be a substantial money saving, although this saving would need to be balanced against the costs of any inter-satellite communications systems required.

Table 1
Expected Benefits and Costs of a Satellite Form of Urban Design for Calgary

Benefits

1. Costs of land, construction, and servicing would be reduced.
2. Rapid transit would be more viable because of the high densities.
3. Automobile use would be reduced.
4. Discretionary income would be released.
5. Discretionary time would be expanded.
6. Greater mobility, especially for women, would result.
7. The possibility for income mixing would increase.
8. Low-status groups would be more easily assimilated into the community.
9. Welfare programs would be operated at reduced cost with improved effectiveness.
10. The natural landscape would be preserved.
11. Citizens would be politically involved to a greater extent.
12. A more efficient secondary housing market would evolve.

Costs

1. One dimension of freedom – choice of housing design – would be reduced.
2. Rent subsidies would increase in the short run.
3. Psychological advantages associated with possession of land would be lost.
4. There would be discomfort associated with change.

Benefits 4 to 9 are social in nature, and, in my opinion, are likely to be the most significant advantages of the satellite design. Discretionary income would be released for purposes unrelated to real estate because it would no longer be possible to allocate income to improving housing exteriors and yards, and it is not likely that families would indulge in the luxury of idle space[2]; discretionary time would be expanded because of the proximity of dwellings to shops, services, and schools, and because of the rapid transit network; mothers would have a greater opportunity to engage in economic or social activities because high densities would make child-care facilities as well as rapid transit viable. Probably the chief advantage of the alternative, however, is the opportunity it provides to eliminate the isolation of low income or otherwise disadvantaged groups in particular geographic areas of the city. Because of the design of housing, life styles need not be demonstrated so openly and it would be easier for the lower class to be assimilated into the community. (The Swedish authorities have established a system of occupancy priorities and rent subsidies for some underprivileged groups, and similar programs would undoubtedly be necessary if this design were to be adapted in Calgary.[3]) All things considered, I would expect a more effective welfare system because the environment is structured with social considerations in mind. This, at least, has been the Swedish experience.

The last three benefits listed in Table 1 are difficult to quantify. They are, nevertheless, important and deserve consideration. More of the natural landscape would be preserved, and the resulting implications could be analyzed by ecologists and geographers; the design would encourage greater political involvement at the neighborhood level, and, if one accepts the ideas of people like Jane Jacobs[4] and Norman Mailer,[5] this would have considerable advantages; a less imperfect secondary housing market may make it feasible to develop alternative methods of finanacing (e.g., cooperative ownership).

Let me now turn briefly to the costs or disadvantages of such a scheme. I suspect that the most serious objections to the proposed

(2) John W. Aldridge stated recently, "it is no wonder that each new generation of Americans appears to be more anesthetized to the environment than the last, or that we seem able to survive within it only by making lairs or fortresses of our homes and staying inside them as much as possible. We are the most house-bound and house-proud of nations because there is so little worth leaving the house for." See J.W. Aldridge, "In the Country of the Young", *Harper's Magazine*, Oct., 1969, p. 49.

(3) See K. Astrom, *City Planning in Sweden*, Stockholm: The Swedish Institute, 1967).

(4) Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961).

(5) In his recent campaign in the mayorality elections in New York City, Mr. Mailer advocated decentralization of political power and recommended that more responsibility be placed in the hands of elected neighborhood groups.

design as I have outlined it is that it would restrict artificially the range of choice of house styles. It could be argued that this is opposed to the principle of consumer sovereignty—one of the basic tenets of our free democratic society. This is a very controversial topic. My own position is that if the social cost of maintaining this aspect of consumer sovereignty is very great, it may have to be sacrificed. Furthermore, I am not convinced that we live in a "free democratic society," and I am in sympathy with Jacques Ellul's analysis in which he suggests that no democracy is possible in a society pursuing rapid economic growth.[6] Thus, in a society in which the consumer's behavior is conditioned by an efficient, technically-oriented corporate establishment, I do not subscribe to the belief that consumer sovereignty is sacred. Nonetheless, it is necessary to obtain a variety of opinions on this issue and this could be accomplished by detailed research.

A second implication of the satellite proposal is that it would probably be necessary to provide rent subsidies for low-income families. The magnitude of this expense would depend upon the proportion of the housing units which were reserved for these families. I suspect, however, that by relocating them in this type of environment, their economic productivity will be enhanced and, in the long run, their dependence on public welfare will be diminished.

The other "costs" listed in Table 1 fall into the purview of psychology. If detailed research is undertaken, their significance would have to be determined by individuals who are experienced in assessing these factors.

If the benefits of a high-density satellite design or some other alternative exceeded the costs or disadvantages, the next step would be the investigation of policy implications. Undoubtedly, a zoning policy would have to be derived, but, as precedents exist, this should not be difficult. Furthermore, development policies would have to be established to attract private capital to the ventures. The government might be required to provide financial assistance to assist low-income families in the assimilation process; if so, enabling legislation would be needed. There would undoubtedly have to be a reassessment of property-tax legislation. These are just examples of the policies which might be needed to make the proposals operational.

I have attempted to provide an outline of the type of research which I believe should be undertaken in Calgary. I believe that the objective of this research should be to design cities which contribute to man's fulfillment in an age of affluence. I do not wish to appear over-dramatic, but I firmly believe that we are at a crossroads. On one

(6) Jacques Ellul, *The Technological Society* (New York: Knopt, 1964).

hand, we can continue in our present unimaginative way and build cities which are carbon copies of Toronto, Winnipeg, or Denver. Alternatively, we can use as our model cities which have made a conscious attempt to create a design formulated with social considerations in mind and particularly concerned with those left out of the economic mainstream.

I believe that Alberta, perhaps more than any other place in the world, has the opportunity to create great cities. Edmonton and Calgary have not yet reached the size where deterioration of the environment has become so intense as to be almost irreversible. They are relatively young, so there is a small proportion of obsolete structures, and, as a consequence, we will not be required to devote tremendous amounts of resources to redevelopment and redesign; population and per-capita income are expected to grow at a satisfactory rate, and the resulting infusion of new skill and new capital provides an opportunity for change and improvement. The cities are diversifying with the result that they will better be able to withstand adverse economic shocks.

The opportunity exists to lead the world in urban design. Research is necessary in order to assess the various possible alternatives.

LABORATORIES FOR LIVING: A SYNTHESIS OF PRACTICAL NEEDS AND THE SEARCH FOR AN IMPROVED HUMAN ENVIRONMENT

Michael R. C. Coulson*

The contemporary city is plagued with many problems, one of the more serious being segregation by socio-economic groups. Present urban development practices in Alberta tend to perpetuate and accentuate this situation.

What are apparent demands in our urban environment "... may stem from a lack of choice, and failure to enquire about alternatives may stem from the lack of knowledge that such alternatives exist." The solutions to many urban problems lie in the provision of opportunities for people to experience alternative forms of urban environments. This could be accomplished through the construction of subdivisions within cities, and of satellite cities, and the subsequent monitoring and evaluation of their success.

Introduction

The focus of this paper is the need to bridge the gap between theories of urban structure and the practice of urban development in Alberta. The main recommendation calls for the design, construction, and operation of urban subdivisions and towns incorporating the "best and latest" of urban theory. This new approach to urban development would follow intensive research calculated to determine the potentials of various designs. Such model subdivisions and towns would be the sites of continuing research to evaluate the quality of the new environmental forms.

The modern city is beset with major problems: traffic congestion, obsolescence of physical structures, inadequacy of community facilities, tension, the failure to communicate between ethnic and social groups, and the strange contradiction of an individual's loneliness and isolation in the heart of the world's most densely populated places. What are the alternatives to our present city form and structure? A variety of possible solutions to the above problems have been advanced: for example, pedestrian precincts, high-density residential areas with a high level of services, small private spaces intermingled with public space, freely integrated neighborhoods, extremely low-density "Broadacres" developments[1], and planetary systems of cities tied

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(1) See, for example: Frank Lloyd Wright, *When Democracy Builds*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945).

together by high-speed transportation routes.

Why are these proposed solutions not in use? The answer is very simple. Far too few examples of their application exist. The average developer or city resident is unaware of many of them and has not considered them as real alternatives. If we are to move forward in our understanding of cities, these alternatives must be developed in order that their relative merits and weaknesses can be evaluated.

Contemporary Urban Problems

Among other problems, contemporary cities suffer from a high degree of segregation, immediately bringing to mind the United States' situation with respect to non-whites. There are, however, equally insidious bases for segregation which fail to observe any national boundaries. We live in cities segregated on both age and socio-economic criteria.

We are organized into neat neighbourhoods serviced by community centres, but these are travesties of the original neighborhood concept[2] in urban structure. We are, in fact, organized into homogeneous groups. Because our activities are local and focussed inward, barriers are heightened and we remain in ignorance of other sections of the city. Lack of knowledge through personal contact leads to forms of discrimination as sad and frightening as any racial confrontation. Perhaps a good example is public housing where the general cry is, "I am for public housing, but not in my neighborhood."

What are the alternatives to the homogeneous neighborhood? Is it necessary to provide expansive tracts of housing homogeneous in value? In newer areas of our cities, there may be fifty school-age children on a block, while teen-age baby sitters are nowhere to be found. In a subdivision somewhat nearer the city centre, the high school is overcrowded and extensions are under way, but classrooms have been closed in the elementary schools. What are the alternatives? Is it possible for families with children, unmarried adults, and grandparents to live in a single neighbourhood? Experience and local examples suggest that it is not.

A resident of a small town will meet persons of all ages whose residential locations will be intermingled. There have been arguments that many of the components of the small-town environment could in fact be created within the large city. The neighborhood concept in its

(2) The original neighbourhood concept is discussed in Clarence A. Perry, "City Planning for Neighbourhood Life," *Social Forces*, (1929).

true form is based on this premise. Reston, Virginia,[3] is a modern example: the integration of high-rise and low-rise apartments, townhouses, maisonettes, and single-family houses of varying quality, all within a closely circumscribed area.

Frequent newspaper reports of accidents, deaths, and property damage through vehicle accidents reflect our archaic approach to planning access routes in cities. The channelling of both pedestrians and motor vehicles along the same routeway and the crossing-at-grade of these mutually exclusive types of traffic inevitably lead to friction and inefficiency in the movement of both (if inefficiency is an adequate word to cover injury and death to a human being). What are the alternatives? The Radburn Plan,[4] one solution to such problems, was developed as long ago as 1928 by C. S. Stein and Henry Wright. Not only does it separate vehicles and pedestrians, but community life is focussed on the interior of the block and no house fronts on a through street. To what extent are such designs known to the residents of Alberta?

By 1966, over 50 per cent of the total population of Alberta lived in either Calgary or Edmonton. These two metropolitan areas accounted for approximately 80 per cent of all population increase in Alberta in the period 1961-1966.[5] Thus, Alberta's two major cities are surging ever outward in extent of developed area. The ratchet mechanism[6] has taken effect; no other city can effectively compete with these two centers and the gap is getting wider.

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(3) Robert E. Simon, "Modern Zoning for Reston," *American County Government* (May, 1967); "Reston in the News," *Savings and Loan News* (January, 1968); Bess Burton, "Reston, Virginia," *Nine Geographical Field Trips in the Washington, D. C., Area*, Association of American Geographers (1968), pp. 29–35.

(4) C. S. Stein (ed.), "Radburn," *Toward New Towns for America* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: M.I.T. Press, 1966), pp. 37–74.

(5) A trend carried over from the previous decade when 75 per cent of all population growth in Alberta went to the metropolitan areas of Calgary and Edmonton. Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Census of Population*, various years.

(6) Thompson explains the ratchet mechanism as follows: "... if the growth of an urban area persists long enough to raise the area to some critical size ..., structural charactersitics such as industrial diversification, political power, high fixed investments, a rich local market, and a steady supply of industrial leadership may almost ensure its continued growth and fully ensure against absolute decline ..." Wilbur R. Thompson, *A Preface to Urban Economics Resources for the Future* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1965), p. 24.

What are the implications of the current trends? Politically, if we follow a "one-man, one-vote" principle in representation, the provincial legislature should be controlled by these two cities. Economically, nothing beyond a natural-resources-based industry can justify locating itself in Alberta anywhere other than Calgary and Edmonton. Socially, all facilities of a cultural and even recreational nature become concentrated in these two major cities. Are there any alternatives?

One alternative to this problem is based on efforts to break up the continuity of the developed area of the metropolitan city. One begins to talk of systems of cities. It is scarcely reasonable to attempt to stop the growth of a city. It is possible, however, to divert such growth to outlying areas intimately connected with the central metropolitan area. Thus, we may talk of satellite communities using extremely sophisticated transportation modes to obtain easy access to the central city.

Problem summary. One might argue that the contemporary city is a response to the demands of the people. In this sense, however, Michael Rogers, Director of the City of Calgary Planning Department, has suggested that the current fashion for ownership of a single-family dwelling on its own lot comes not from choice, but from the lack of any alternative.[7] In similar vein, Louis Hamill, a member of the Department of Geography at the University of Calgary, responded as follows to a proposal that a survey be taken asking people what they wanted in open-space recreation: such a survey would not be valid because the people have not experienced many of the alternatives which might be made available to them in open-space recreation.[8] In short, apparent demands may stem from a lack of choice, and failure to enquire about alternatives may stem from the lack of knowledge that such alternatives exist.

A Proposal for Action

In essence, the solution to many urban problems lies in providing people with alternatives, giving people opportunities to experience such alternatives, and making judgement upon their relative merits. How may this be done? It is my recommendation that the only reliable strategy is to make the alternatives known to Alberta residents. The intent of this paper is to call for the construction of both subdivisions within cities and satellite towns within Alberta, using the following general terms of reference:

(7) Personal conversations between the author and Mr. M. Rogers.

(8) Personal conversations between the author and Dr. Louis Hamill.

(a) That each such development be planned following extensive theoretical evaluation using a "new" approach to the design and structure of cities or subdivisions;

(b) That such developments be monitored through all phases in a comprehensive manner. This monitoring should continue indefinitely in terms of the general efficiency and effectiveness of the development, using such criteria as long-range community involvement, community structure, and school success;

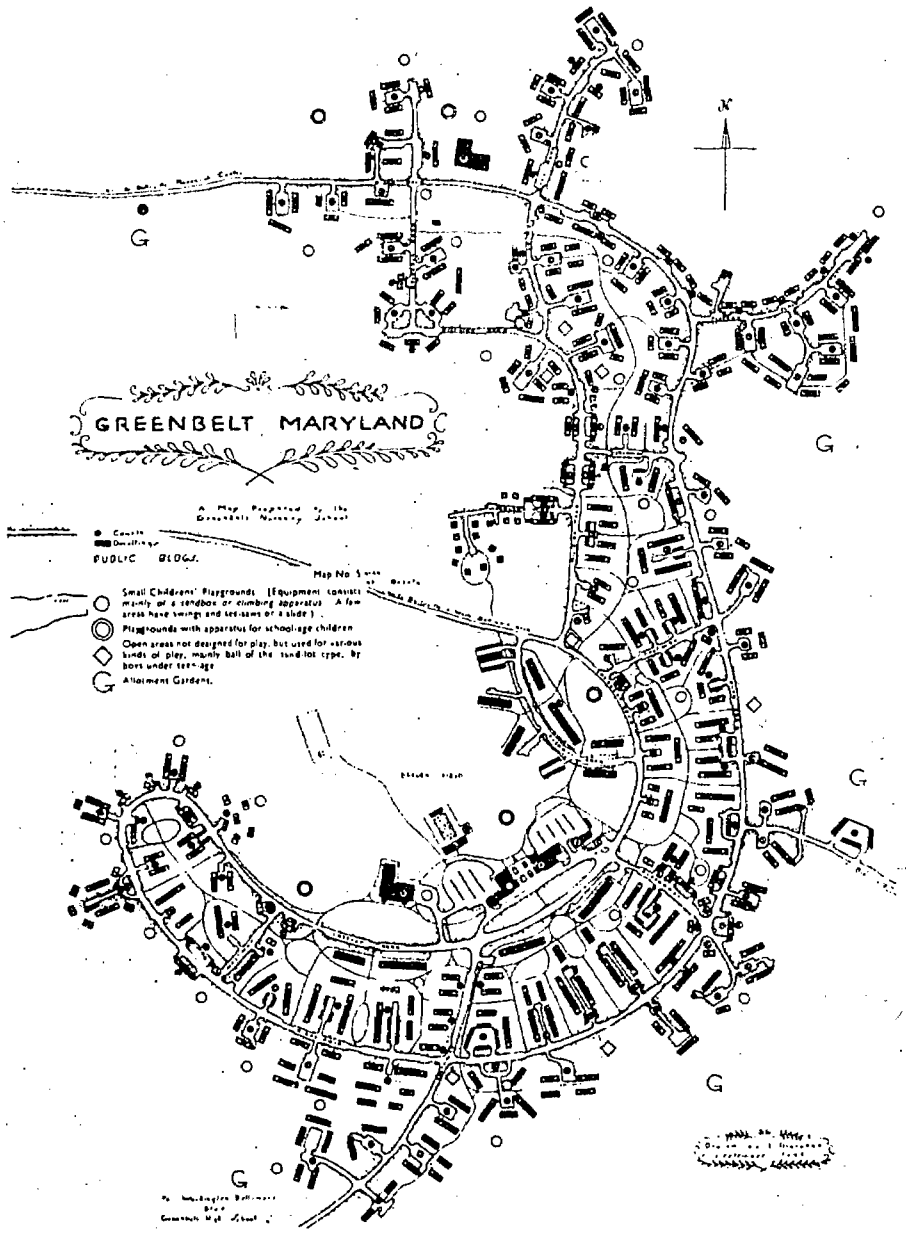
(c) That all types of professionals in the field of urban planning and development be encouraged to visit and examine the developments and that they be encouraged to discuss publicly the relative merits of the scheme;

(d) That the general public be informed about the developments through displays, visitor centres, and publicity with a view to improving the general level of appreciation of urban environments;

(e) That such developments be considered as an ongoing area of work in which, from time to time, when new ideas of apparent merit have been advanced and examined in a thorough-going theoretical manner, further developments of subdivisions or other types of settlement be developed and evaluated in a similar manner.

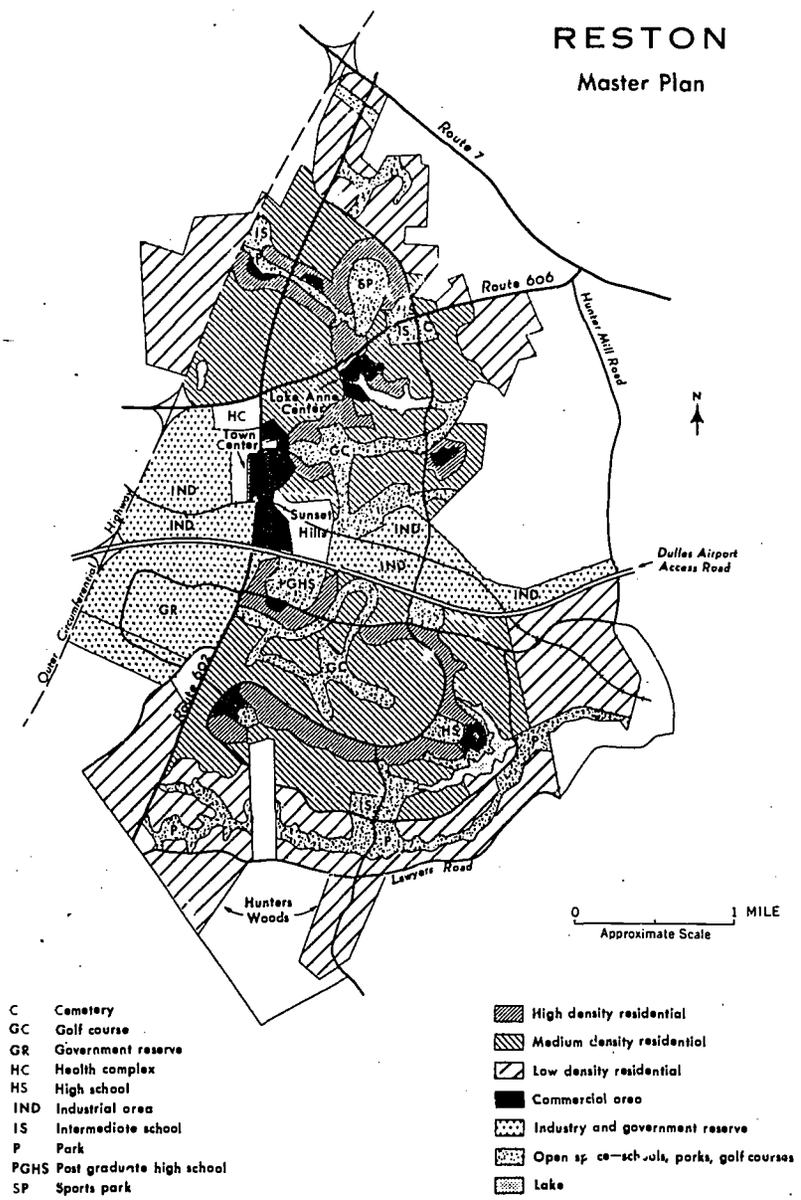
As an independent agency, the Human Resources Research Council has more stability and longevity than any individual researcher or research team. The possibility exists, therefore, of its coordinating a variety of researchers and teams and directing their efforts toward a common goal.

I can deal in only a preliminary way with the research topics implied by the above recommendation. Questions for research include matters of land or site capability; relative costs of alternative designs for the layout; costing of the provision of services; experimentation in housing and development, particularly in relation to sale price. In addition, a wide variety of economic and social studies could be undertaken: strength of community interaction; stability of the community; relative success of the school system; choice of employment location; vehicle accident rates; community responsibility



Greenbelt, Maryland

Note the large blocks in use and the number of buildings set in away from thru roads. Also the pattern of within-block footpaths, marked by single lines.



Reston Master Plan *Photograph by Coulson*

This illustration shows a generalized land use for the settlement when it is complete. Of particular interest is the distribution of lakes and the interfingering of open space (including golf courses) among the various land uses. At the present time the major retail centre is in the Lake Anne Centre. Not too much attention should be focused on the Dulles Airport access road since the community still has no access to this freeway from the Washington outer circular road to the airport. Thus, although industrial land uses are well located adjacent, they must rely on the older routeways marked, into Washington.

in terms of level of crime rate, costs of policing, and maintenance of pedestrian systems. Further, studies under the above headings concerned with change through time, or comparative studies with other types of experimental areas and with the more traditional patterns, could be undertaken.

The Human Resources Research Council is in an advantageous position to request the active assistance of the provincial and possibly the federal governments in a major project. While a government may be reluctant to engage in the development of either subdivisions or satellite towns, the present proposal suggests that such involvement would be a service to the people of Alberta in that it would introduce them to the latest developments in urban design in a practical rather than a literary or book sense. At the same time it is a fact that such areas would provide living accommodation at least equal in quality to that provided in our current urban design.

On first consideration, the cost of such an endeavour might seem prohibitive and entirely out of line with the availability of money for research and development. It must be remembered, however, that we are dealing with housing for sale, schools to be operated, shops to be leased, and a very real community. Over a twenty-year period, it is reasonable to assume that research costs would in fact involve only about one per cent of the total development costs. Further, such research almost certainly would have more than paid for itself in terms of benefits to the community.

We suffer in Alberta from remoteness. We are far from the few experimental and forward-looking developments created in other parts of the world. Yet, with our present population concentration, urban structure, and potential growth, we are badly in need of improvement in our urban environments. If we consider the situation in terms of the diffusion of ideas, then indeed we are many years behind in our manner of living and our enjoyment of urban life particularly. Innovation is erratic in its occurrence. We have before us an opportunity for planned innovation. We do not need new ideas so much as we need the means of implementing ideas and evaluating their relative merits.

TOWARD A MODEL OF URBAN GOVERNMENT

Stanl y Drabek*

Changes in political institutions have not kept pace with changes in society as a whole. As a result, our governmental forms are often inadequate to solve our present-day problems. This situation is amplified where urbanization and technological advances have their greatest impact—in the large urban centers. The growing together of urban areas often leads to a multiplicity of local authorities, some functionally and others spatially organized. Here, unfortunate side-effects of advances in technology often outweigh their benefits. The traditional solution, extension of the jurisdictional area, interferes with the citizen's opportunity to express himself politically, and thereby decreases the likelihood of satisfaction of local needs and demands. Emphasis should be, therefore, on the creation of meaningful political communities and governmental structures capable of providing optimal citizen participation and a real efficiency. Research is needed to determine the form of government best suited to meet the needs of urban-dwellers who live in large urban agglomerations.

Introduction

Urban areas have always played an important role in human history. Time has changed the form of the city but the form of its political institutions has not changed as rapidly. Each historical epoch has developed a structure to meet the social, economic, and political needs of urban residents, beginning with the classical concept of democracy in the Greek city-state of Athens through the town meetings of New England to our present "local governments".

In the past, governmental problem-solving was less difficult than is the case now. Even in the recent past, the number and magnitude of problems bear little comparison to present urban problems. Then, most problems resulted from events occurring within the confines of a geographically delineated area; political solutions could be developed and applied at the local level because political jurisdiction was coterminous with the problems encountered.

What is the present state of affairs? To quote an old cliche, "We have a nineteenth-century form of government to meet twentieth-century demands." Governmental forms, like society, are slow to change. The resultant lag means that governments are not geared to solve the problems of today. Obviously, we must ask the reasons for this lag. Two such reasons come immediately to mind:

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(a) The increasing population movement towards urban centres is changing both the size and form of cities. Where cities once were small and urban places distinct and separate from one another, they are now large in both population and area and have often melded together into one large urban area, yet remain divided in legal jurisdiction. Such problems as the provision of an urban transportation system are accentuated when this occurs.

(b) Technology, once a factor limiting urban expansion, now facilitates the phenomenon and increases the associated problems.

The Effect of Population Movements

Population movements have changed the face of urban areas. People tend to work in one area of an urban centre, sleep in another, and play in still another. They often cross political jurisdictions in moving from one activity to another. Financial and political responsibilities are vastly complicated. For example, should the core city or the suburbs build and/or pay for expressways which carry the suburbanites into the downtown of the core city for work and take them away again in the afternoon rush hour? This is but one of the problems resulting from what may be called a concentrated dispersal of population. Education and social welfare come to mind as other problems. The policy of government has been to enlarge the area of governmental jurisdiction (e.g. the annexation of Jasper Place to Edmonton in 1964) only to find that the population movement is ever outward.

The Effect of Technological Development

Technological developments make human life easier but many of their side effects make life harder—a serious dilemma. Consider, for example, the problems caused by pollution which have risen along with newer and faster forms of transportation. A second example is increased recreation space as the result of increased leisure time, in turn, of course, a product of technological improvement. The taking of land for recreation brings with it problems of conservation.

The solution to these problems is made more difficult where the problems extend beyond a specific urban area and thus cut across several governmental jurisdictions. In other words, the problems are regional. Because of this, the question arises as to which political entity should be responsible for the solution of a specific problem.

Again, the usual recourse would be to enlarge the governmental area. Before accepting this solution uncritically, however, we should recognize an interesting political phenomenon — the demand for decentralization — which runs counter to this traditional solution.

While people are demanding increased areal size of the governmental unit for more efficient services, they are at the same time demanding some form of decentralized government so that decision-makers may be aware of, and responsive to, local needs and demands. Some attention should therefore be paid to the theoretical concepts of "access" and "service".[1] Access means the ability of individuals and groups to influence local governments, and service refers, for example, to publicly-provided residential services.

It is clear that people are demanding the opportunity to participate and to express themselves politically. The basic question is, what form of governmental structure can ensure both elected officials and local citizens the opportunity to deal adequately with problems? Two issues must be considered in answering this question: (i) the size of the governmental unit; and (ii) the powers of the governmental unit.

The first issue has been addressed to some degree by other participants in the symposium. I have chosen to concentrate on the powers of the governmental unit. (The reader will note in what follows that the two issues are highly interrelated.)

Seen in this perspective — that the distribution of power is related to size of the political unit — emphasis should be upon the creation of meaningful political communities which will know clearly their political responsibility. To give a concrete example, the structure proposed where a serious transportation problem exists would take into account the "community" involved and the possibilities of divergent views and their expression in debate – not just the engineering requirements for the most effective transportation system.

Areal division of powers meets head-on the problem raised by a multiplicity of special-purpose local authorities. The division of powers on a spatial basis avoids the problems caused by the fragmentation of local government.[2]

Application

I will now apply the framework developed above to the proposal for urban alternatives described by Wright and Coulson, first to Dr.

1967) p. 500

(2) See Arthur Maass, *Area and Power* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe. 1959).

Wright's paper. His proposal for high-density projects raises practical questions related to the proper areal division of power. Should each high-density area have its own politic l institutions or should each be part of an overall regional political framework? What criteria should be used to determine the answers? More specifically, what form of local government should control the vital aspects of transportation and zoning?

Similar questions are applicable to Professor Homeniuck's discussion of the problems of the smaller communities in Alberta. The question is already upon us. Do we want one large governmental unit for an ever-expanding urban area, a regional government, either in a federated metropolitan form or a two-tiered system,[3] or, the last resort, a series of *ad hoc* functional authorities?

The ideal situation is one in which the distribution of powers allows a government to act decisively and effectively to implement the values held by the society (i.e. equality, or welfare in terms of services). The solution must be effective, not only for the present but also for the future.

We require an in-depth study to determine the form of government best suited to meet these demands. The economic, social, and political implications of various authorities–large urban, regional, federated metropolitan area, or functional–must be examined carefully with a view to producing a model of possible courses of action.

Economic implications might be viewed in terms of efficiency, personal taxes, or tax-revenue potential. One's ability to identify with his community as a whole is desirable from the point of view of an urban administration, and has political implications in the form of moving governments towards greater responsiveness.

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(3) In a two-tiered system, there is one level of government for the region as a whole, and a second level of government for the municipalities within that whole.

PROSPECTS FOR REVITALIZING SMALL COMMUNITIES

H. Peter M. Homenuck*

The role of the small community in our increasingly urban society has received little attention, despite the fact that a substantial proportion of Canadians are dependent on small towns and cities. The problems of small communities, unlike those of the larger centre, often relate directly to their survival as viable entities. Economic decline in small centres results primarily from an inability to compete with large centres in terms of facilities and services. Young people generally migrate to cities in search of opportunities lacking in smaller towns. The accelerated growth of the large centres has further amplified the problems of small communities, thus completing the "vicious circle of decline." Both the federal and provincial governments have indicated that they feel the circle is not inevitable or unalterable. Research is therefore needed to determine avenues for change. The best types and locations of economic investments and the feasibility of creating development areas are sample topics for study.

Introduction

Urban research has been keyed primarily to the urban problems of the large metropolitan areas. Professional and popular literature contains numerous articles and plans which purport to offer solutions to the problems of the megalopolis, but the literature relating to cities in the 50,000 and under population class is meager; even less material deals specifically with small communities, those with fewer than 5,000 persons. This would seem to be an incongruous situation, given that a substantial percentage of Canadians (my estimate is well in excess of 40 per cent) live in or are dependent on small towns and cities.

It seems that many urban experts and decision-makers have accepted as inevitable the trends toward centralization and the accelerated growth of large centres, coupled with the continued decline and stagnation of small communities. I, for one, am not prepared to accept completely this premise; thus, this paper is devoted to exploring some of the roles and problems of small communities under the present conditions of our urbanizing society.

I define a small community as a settlement with a population of 5,000 or less. Such communities can be classified into two broad categories: (a) the commuter suburb or bedroom town which fulfills,

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primarily, a residential function for large urban centres; and (b) the rural service centre, the role of which is somewhat more complex in that it performs a wide range of functions — retail, wholesale, and administrative, in addition to residential.

Because the rural service centre encompasses a more diverse range of functions, it tends to exhibit a greater degree of independence and possesses more of an individual identity and character. One-industry communities also conform to the general description of rural service centres and therefore are included in this category.

This discussion concentrates on the problems of . e small communities in the second category rural service cent and one-industry communities.

Problems Common to All Types of Urban Settlements

All urban places, whether towns with populations of a few thousand or major centres, such as Edmonton and Calgary, have common areas of concern. One area of paramount importance is the inadequacy of municipal finances and various measures of taxation. This area has been well documented in *Urban Crisis* ,the Alberta Municipal Finance Study of 1968.[1]

Another problem common to most communities, regardless of size, is that of finding means for citizen participation in the development of the urban environment. A considerable degree of citizen involvement is necessary to make the planned aspects of community life work effectively.[2]

The establishment and updating of land-use and zoning regulations is a perpetual housekeeping activity in all communities, irrespective of size. There exist, however, differences in the degree of sophistication of such regulations, with the smaller communities tending to be less firm in the application of restrictions than are larger centres. Some problem areas are more relevant and pressing in small communities in that they relate directly to survival as viable entities within the geographic, economic, and social fabric of our urban structure. The following section is devoted to an examination of these problems.

(1) *Urban Crisis*, Alberta Municipal Finance Study, Cities of Alberta, January 1968.

(2) Harold R. Baker, "The Small Community in Planning," *Community Planning Review*, Vol. 15, 1965, pp. 2 - 8.

Problems of Small Communities

Foremost among the concerns of small communities is the trend toward economic decline, both in absolute and relative terms. This general downgrading of small centres is illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1

Overall Changes Among Urban Centres of Three Canadian Regions, 1951–1961

	Saskatchewan		Eastern Ontario		P. E. I.	
	Number	*Per cent*	*Number*	*Per cent*	*Number*	*Per cent*
Number of centres, 1951	892	100.0	441	100.0	108	100.0
Number of centres disappearing, 1951–61	129	14.5	77	17.4	32	29.6
Number of centres declining, 1951–61	148	16.6	52	11.8	7	6.5
Number of new centres	16	1.8	28	6.4	10	9.3
Number of centres, 1961	779		392		86	

Source: Gerald Hodge, "Small Centres In Our Future Planning," *Community Planning Review*, Vol. 15, No. 4 (1965), pp. 14–18.

It is apparent from these three sample regions that the decline is pronounced and has significant implications in terms of the provision of facilities and services.

Why does this trend exist? The basic answer is that small centres are not in a position to compete with large urban places in terms of facilities and services, either for major economic activity or as places of residence. They are, by and large, away from financial centres, lacking in significant specialized services such as legal and business skills, and not located advantageously with respect to transportation linkages. In short, they are not located geographically in areas of economic opportunity within the present economic-urban system.

A second problem area is that of the declining urban environment in the small communities, relative to the larger community. Small communities lack the services considered basic to urban living, such as paved streets and roads, sewage systems, adequate housing, and so on. (See Table 2.) Further, in most small communities the amenities commonly associated with urban life, specifically those catering to the leisure time of the population and the desires of the young, are absent.

Table 2
Presence of Selected Physical Facilities in the Incorporated Centres of Saskatchewan, 1961

Type of Centre	Sewerage System	Waterworks System	Hospital	High School	Median Population
	(percentage of centres possessing above facilities)				
Primary Wholesale-Retail	100	100	100	100	103,800
Secondary Wholesale-Retail	100	100	100	100	10,000
Complete Shopping	90	93	97	100	1,800
Partial Shopping	51	45	68	95	610
Full Convenience		3	5	77	210
Hamlet	0	1	0	42	50

Source: Gerald Hodge, "Small Centres In Our Future Planning," *Community Planning Review*, Vol. 15, No. 4 (1965), pp. 14–18.

The personal environment of individuals, specifically their housing, is, in general, relatively poorer in small communities compared to large centres. This, of course, is related to the fact that building codes are not as rigid as in larger urban places, nor are they enforced as well. It appears on the surface that housing standards and conditions in small communities will continue to decline in comparison to the major urban places. One has only to look around Alberta and compare small towns such as Sundre and East Coulee to Calgary and Edmonton, to comprehend the scope of this aspect of small community problems.

A third area of concern in small communities is that of the changing population structure. Because of the dearth of employment opportunities, young people migrate to the major urban centres leaving behind an older population which does not possess an increasing income potential. Therefore, an expansion of the tax base to help provide improved services cannot be anticipated.

These problems are generally descriptive of the plight of small communities across North America and can specifically be demonstrated in Alberta. The following section addresses this point.

Alberta's Urban Trend

In Alberta, a migration trend from the small communities and rural areas to the major cities of Edmonton and Calgary has been established. For example, in 1941 Calgary accounted for 11 per cent of the province's population, whereas by 1966 Calgary's share of the population rose to 23 per cent. Furthermore, less than half of this increase is attributable to in-migration from outside the province. Therefore, a considerable stream of migration exists from the smaller centres in Alberta to Calgary. A similar argument can be put forward for Edmonton.

Another dimension of this trend is revealed in looking at the annual growth rates of Calgary and one of Alberta's medium-sized centres, Medicine Hat. The present rate of growth in Calgary is approximately four percent while that of Medicine Hat is less than one per cent. From these data, it can be seen that this urban migration is directly advantageous only to the primary urban centres.

In terms of what this paper refers to as the small communities, the general picture of stagnation and decline is evident from Table 3.

Thus, the general North American trend of migration to urban centres and the problems of small communities apply to Alberta.

Table 3
Population - Towns in the Red Deer Regional Planning Commission Area - Actual Figures for 1961 and 1966; Projections for 1986

Towns (ranked by size, 1966)	1961	1966	1986	Per cent Growth 1961-66	Per cent Growth 1966-86
1. Stettler	3,638	3,988	4,500	10	13
2. Lacombe	3,039	3,035	2,800	0	- 8
3. Olds	2,433	2,999	4,000	23	33
4. Innisfail	2,270	2,531	3,200	11	26
5. Rocky Mountain House	2,360	2,446	3,200	4	31
6. Fidsbury	1,254	1,586	1,800	26	13
7. Sylvan Lake	1,381	1,332	1,200	- 4	- 10
8. Castor	1,025	1,090	1,200	6	10
9. Sundre	853	831	700	- 3	-16
10. Coronation	864	811	600	- 6	- 26
11. Carstairs	665	761	900	14	18
12. Eckville	580	716	900	23	26
Total Towns	20,352	22,126	25,000	9	13
Villages (ranked by size, 1966)					
1. Blackfalds	477	726	1,100	53	51
2. Bentley	588	637	800	8	26
3. Alix	631	636	600	1	- 6
4. Bowden	437	610	800	40	31
5. Mirror	577	433	150	-25	-65
6. Delburne	450	391	250	-13	-36
7. Big Valley	461	378	250	-18	-34
8. Penhold	319	370	500	16	35
9. Caroline	321	294	200	- 8	-32
10. Donalda	289	271	200	- 6	-26
11. Clive	251	238	150	- 5	-37
12. Elnora	214	191	150	-11	-21
13. Halkirk	172	177	150	3	-15
14. Cremona	221	191	150	-14	-21
15. Botha	112	134	230	20	- 3
16. Gadsby	98	84	50	-14	-40
17. Gull Lake (SV)	40	48	70	20	46
18. Rochon Sands (SV)	28	2	-	-93	-
Total Villages	5,686	5,814	5,700	2	- 2

Source: *Economic Base Study*, Red Deer Regional Planning Commission, March, 1969.

This combination of problems has placed small communities in a vicious circle of decline in which there is a definite relationship among all of these specific problems. A lack of economic investment in small communities results in an absence of job opportunities and a decreasing tax base. These effects in turn lead to a declining social and physical environment, and the resultant out-migration further decreases the potential of the town to attract economic investment. This circle of problems is a reflection of the changes in technology (i.e., transportation and communication changes) which have greatly altered time and distance and have made it considerably easier for the bulk of the "action" to become concentrated in the very large cities of the nation.

At this point, some questions might be posed. In the long run, is this trend beneficial? Is the decline of small communities something beyond the control of the communities and the province?

I would suggest that the Government of Alberta and the Government of Canada have already made their judgements and have answered both questions in the negative. At the provincial level, Alberta has established a fine system of regional planning commissions for decentralizing planning administration and spreading services over a vast area of settlement. The federal government,through the Department of Regional Economic Expansion and the new Regional Development Incentives Act, is making efforts to create new job opportunities in slow growth areas of Canada.

Since it appears that the trend toward urban centralization has been judged not in the best interests of the province or the nation and that it should be altered, the vicious circle outlined above must be broken. The question is where and how?

Avenues for Change

The logical place in which to make the initial thrust for change and revitalization is the area of economic investment, which, since we are dealing with declining or stagnating locations, must be either directly or indirectly sponsored by the various levels of government.

Before recommendations can be made on the type of investment, it would first be necessary to conduct an in-depth analysis of the present roles of the provincial and federal governments in the life of small communities. On the surface, the provincial government's role appears to be very important, as indicated by the recent (1968) opening of a hospital in Sundre and the creation of some 40 jobs in a town with a population under 1,000.

It should be kept in mind, however, that not all places will be suitable for investment. Thus, investments should be made in the areas which seem to have the most potential as growth points. Since it is clear that towns do not exist as isolated points, but rather are parts of an intricate and complex system, a regional approach is necessary to delineate geographic areas within which planned investment and development could best be attempted. It would further be useful to deal with a cohesive area as a competitor or alternative to the major urban centres a situation which does not exist when dealing solely with one small community versus a major centre.

Finally, a feasibility study should be undertaken to analyze the advisability of creating geographic units, such as development commissions or districts, to provide an impetus to decentralized development. If such vehicles were created within the well-established structures and parameters of regional planning districts, they might be viewed collectively as the skeleton of an eventual regional government structure.

As a specific suggestion, I would propose the establishment of a pilot project in which a test area, such as the Olds-Didsbury-Sundre triangle, would be defined and the projects and studies suggested above carried out. Hopefully, the result of this series of applied studies would be guidelines by which expanded social and economic development in small-town Alberta could be effected.

FACTORS AFFECTING ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY IN URBAN LIVING

Louis Hamill*

The urban resident's expectations for a high-quality urban environment are rising as he becomes more affluent. Some of his expectations relate to the need for increased recreation space and facilities and the management of landscapes. Changes in present institutional arrangements may be required to assure public access to recreation space. There is need for governments as well to recognize that space for recreation is a valid and important use of public land and water resources, both inside and outside cities. Care in the design of cities could lend much to the creation of a favorable visual impression and an urban environment in which one can easily orient himself.

Four suggested directions of research are:

(1) study of factors affecting the use of parks, recreation, and cultural facilities (e.g. distance, design);

(2) application of recreational land and landscape classification systems in Alberta to provide a basis for recreational and amenity planning;

(3) preparation of a manual bringing together the relevant standards and guidelines for recreation planning; and

(4) study of the role of extra-urban land in meeting the recreation needs of urban residents.

Introduction

Clean air, pure water, low noise levels, attractive buildings, well-planned parks, and a variety of opportunities for recreation and personal development are some of the characteristics of a high quality urban environment. As cities become larger and more crowded, the protection and enhancement of environmental quality will become more necessary, to protect the mental and physical health of urban residents, and to maintain the competitive economic and political position of the city. As urban residents become more affluent and better educated, their expectations for a high quality urban environment probably will become more demanding. Some of these expectations, and the resulting demands, will be difficult to satisfy without more effective and imaginative planning in the near future.

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Clean air, clean water, and uncluttered landscapes are already being demanded and governments are now moving to meet these demands. For example, both the provincial and federal governments are now in the process of developing more effective controls of water and air pollution and there are many indications that effective control of pollution can be achieved in a relatively short time. Also, both the federal and provincial governments are taking steps to control environmental pollution from chemicals used in agriculture and forestry, such as DDT and seed treatments containing mercury. This paper will suggest studies concerned with facets of environmental quality other than those mentioned above.

Land Use, Recreation, and Urban Design

Parks serve several important functions in and near cities. They provide space for recreational activities such as organized games, like football, baseball and tennis, and unorganized activities such as walking, cycling, and playing "cowboys and Indians." Sitting in a park and enjoying the scene is an important recreation for some people. Parks, natural areas, and golf courses may provide attractive landscapes within the urban environment, in addition to their role as places where recreation is carried on. Parks and other large areas of open space may also serve the important function of defining or emphasizing certain elements of the city's shape or form.

Parks inside and outside of cities will have to be provided on an increasing scale in order to maintain the present standards. This means that all cities in Alberta must acquire more land for parks in anticipation of substantial increases in population. There must also be substantial increases in urban-oriented recreational parks near cities, to meet the increasing demands for picnicking and boating and other recreation near the cities.

Non-park lands outside of cities, both public and private, will be required to provide more recreational opportunities and amenities, and this may require substantial changes in existing institutional arrangements. Public access to fishing and boating waters must be improved, and the rights of the public to use public waters must be clearly established. Access to public lands, including land leased for logging, grazing, and farming, will need to be guaranteed for public use. Legal priorities in the use of public lands and water bodies will have to be changed to recognize recreation as an important and legitimate use of public land and water resources.

More attention must be given to the design of cities, including careful design of neighborhoods and other small areas. One is often

tempted to think that urban design is concerned only with making cities better places for industry and better places in which to operate automobiles. Urban design, in my view, should be most concerned with making cities into convenient, attractive, and stimulating places to live. One objective of city planning should be to create environments in which people can orient themselves spatially, so that they are comfortably aware of their geographic relationship to all important parts of the city. The improvement of urban design should extend to the approaches to cities, so that a strong and favorable visual impression is made on those entering the city by major transport routes.

More attention must be given to the management of landscapes, beyond the mere removal or amelioration of eyesores. The urban environment can be made visually more attractive by careful architectural design and skillful design of parks, parkways, and other public open space. The downtown development guidelines created recently by the Calgary Planning Department constitute a fine example of planning for the commercial core of a city.

Management of landscapes outside of the city, to preserve and improve visual amenities, can make an important contribution to maintaining or improving the quality of urban living. The major opportunities for landscape management lie in highways design and related land use and in the management of landscapes on publicly-owned grasslands and forests. Private landowners may be encouraged to preserve desirable landscapes and to improve the appearance of their land.

Directions for Research

The following studies address factors affecting the quality of urban living mentioned above:

(a) **Factors affecting the use of public parks and public recreational and cultural facilities by urban residents in Alberta.** This study would be concerned initially with spatial and distance factors affecting the use of playgrounds, school grounds, athletic parks, and other public open space and recreational facilities. The study would use two methods:

(i) The recording of spatial patterns of use of open space and facilities, by time of day, season of year, type of weather, and similar classifications, using simple age-sex and activity descriptions to identify the type of use and the type of user;

(ii) Questionnaire surveys of selected users, to gather detailed

information on their location relative to the area being used, together with selected age, sex, and socio-economic characteristics and reactions to certain physical and institutional characteristics of the recreational facility being used. One objective would be to determine the effect of such factors as building design, lighting, interior and exterior materials, and landscaping and grounds maintenance on the level of use of buildings and grounds.

This study would provide guidance for the design of individual playgrounds, recreational and athletic parks of various kinds, school grounds, community centres, and similar facilities.

(b) The application of recreational land classification and landscape classification systems in Alberta, to provide a better basis for recreation and amenity planning. Recreational land classification systems identify the potential of land and water areas to support certain types of recreational activities, such as camping, picnicking, hunting, and so on. Landscape classification systems make possible identification of features of the landscape with favorable or unfavorable visual qualities. Studies are now being conducted by the author[1] to develop such systems to suit the needs of recreational and amenity planning in Alberta. It is proposed that the development of these systems be completed, and that they be applied to the urban area and the rural hinterland of all cities in Alberta. Their application would identify the potential for recreational and amenity developments in each city and city region. The solution of two problems would be facilitated by the use of two analytic techniques:

(i) acquisition of land for parks and recreational uses; and

(ii) identification of land features and buildings that make positive and negative contributions to urban and rural landscapes.

(c) The preparation of a manual bringing together all of the relevant standards and guidelines for parks, other recreational land, recreational and cultural facilities, and related amenities for urban centres in Alberta. An objective of this study would be the establishment of minimum requirements for physical facilities for recreation and cultural amenity. The manual would be applicable to recreation planning in neighborhoods, and urban centres of various sizes. In the compilation phase of this study, it would probably be discovered that existing standards and guidelines for recreational land and facilities are not adequate to meet the needs of urban centres in Alberta and research would be needed to supply the missing information.

(1) A research project by Dr. Hamill, in progress in the Department of Geography, University of Calgary.

(d) The role of extra-urban land in meeting the present and potential recreational needs of urban residents in Alberta. The farms, forests, grasslands, mountains, rivers, and lakes near cities can provide significant recreational opportunities for urban residents. I propose that the recreational hinterland of each city in Alberta be studied. This study would identify the opportunities for realizing the recreational potential in the hinterland of each city and the barriers to realization of this potential. Since most of the land close to urban centres is privately owned, an examination would be needed of ways to increase the recreational service available from private lands, including the use of leases, recreational and scenic easements, and other legal devices.

Attention would also be given to the expanded use for recreation of public lands, including land now leased for grazing, mineral production, and similar purposes. Consideration would be given to providing adequate access to public lands and public waters with recreational potential. Studies would be carried out for all major urban regions, and all important classes of public land.

PRIORITY URBAN PROBLEMS: A SOCIAL WORK PERSPECTIVE

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Two major changes in the social characteristics of life in modern society create new social problems. One, urbanization, has brought about increasing bureaucratization of personal and group life. Another, increasing cybernation, reinforces the effects of urbanization. One of our most pressing needs is to facilitate social inventions to enable urban dwellers to cope with the effects of these changes. If these changes are to be effected, a new level of responsibility on the part of the ordinary citizen will be necessary.

Four priorities for planning and development are suggested:

(1) the establishment of an economic and social data bank, and the development through research of socio-economic indicators;

(2) an experimental project to determine the advantages and disadvantages of "service" shopping centres;

(3) a study of approaches in other urban communities to the planning, development, and provision of social services; and

(4) the development of a model of neighborhood councils near an urban core, with a view to increasing local citizen involvement in influencing policies which affect their lives.

Introduction

Two major changes in the social characteristics of life in modern society create new social problems: one change is increasing urbanization; the other is increasing cybernation. While they are not the only changes which can be identified, they are the most pertinent ones from the point of view of social work.

Urbanization leads to increasing bureaucratization of personal and group life. To function effectively and maintain social competence and satisfying interpersonal relations, people need secondary institutions in addition to the primary institution of the family. Increasingly, special knowledge and skills are required to negotiate the maze of bureaucratic arrangements. This does not make the family as an institution obsolete,

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but it requires that families be helped to instruct their members in the acquisition of new skills which will enable them to perform competently their traditional social roles.[1] Parents, for example, must learn to instil trust in their children. The startling new development seems to be that, throughout our lifetimes and those of our children, in order that we may perform roles effectively and achieve or even maintain social competence, the process of socialization must be ongoing and must affect all age groups. Resocialization may become a way of life, a process affecting not only the young, but all age groups. Thus, the family will be increasingly called upon to keep interpersonal skills from becoming obsolete, to help produce a mental set which perceives social re-tooling as a necessity of life, and to serve as a laboratory for the development of new social skills.

Another phenomenon in modern society is cybernation, which tends to reinforce the effects of urbanization (increasing bureaucratization).

We need to change our attitudes about work and productivity and we will probably need to question the dichotomy between work and leisure. In order to avoid an increasingly depersonalized existence, we must develop and intensify the availability of interpersonal experiences in the primary group. Existing and traditional social roles require new skills for their effective performance. In addition, new social roles need to be developed for each age group, particularly for the anomie-prone and potentially alienated segment of the population – the middle-class. Opportunities for interpersonal experiences which might combat these latter tendencies exist in the "replanning" of cities.[2]

The most useful studies of the urban environment attempt to see the urban environment as a whole. Most problems have multiple causes and the analysis of the physical characteristics of the urban environment as the cause, rather than a symptom, of social and economic problems, is a serious error. Unfortunately, much of the present-day assessment of the urban condition is, as Robert Heilbroner suggests, in the form of "pep talks".[3] We already know that those reasonably well-served by the urban environment have disposable income, own and drive cars, are relatively well-educated, and in good health. It follows that those with little, if any, disposable income, who

(1) See Paul Goodman, *Growing Up Absurd* (New York: Vintage Books, 1960), p. 296; and John W. Gardner, *Self-Renewal* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), p. 141.

(2) See Jane Jacobs, *Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961), p. 458; and "Cities: Do The Planners Know Best?", *Time*, Vol. 95, No. 7, (February 16, 1970), pp. 11–12.

(3) Robert Heilbroner, *The Future as History* (New York: Harper, 1960), Chapter 1.

are dependent on public transportation, who have minimal skills or knowledge to offer in the competitive labor market, and who are in poor health are served badly. Apparently, about one quarter of the population of the urban communities in Alberta have these latter attributes.[4] Their opportunities are very limited, their frustrations are numerous, and their sense of purpose and satisfaction is minimal or marginal. It seems reasonable to conclude that it is the middle socio-economic group that is adequately served by the present arrangement, since the upper group can manipulate any system in its own favor and has, therefore, the fewest needs, and the lower fifth of the population continues to live in relative deprivation.

If we conclude that we can no longer continue to exalt technology above man, it follows that one of our most pressing needs is to facilitate social inventions calculated to cope with technological change. It seems tragic that efforts to undermine our addiction to things that are useless (for example, the private automobile) are considered so threatening to the majority in the middle and upper socio-economic groups. Clearly, if the minority who are deprived are to have opportunities to modify their predicament, these opportunities must be sanctioned by the middle-class majority (the legislature), for this is the nature of democracy.

It is in this sense that it seems best to acknowledge that the urban environment is fundamentally a communication network. Quantitative analysis, while useful in a gross sense, does not tell us who really benefits and who suffers from present arrangements. We do know that some very obvious social costs arise from the present urban condition (social stratification, loneliness, monotony, frustration, boredom, group conflict, etc.) The role of the family withers in the face of such formal institutional substitutes as the school. Secondary associations replace primary ones. Distance and isolation replace proximity and a sense of sharing.

Adapting our capabilities to the broad range of human social needs is dependent on a simple but critical issue – the planning, development, organization, and management of the urban environment. A new level of responsibility is required. Fragmented legislative mandates, administrative structures, and community leadership must be overcome. The institutional fabric invented by earlier generations must either be replaced or significantly modified if the average citizen is to *believe* and *think* he has a responsible role.

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(4) Richard J. Ossenberg, *Community Opportunity Assessment, Calgary Study* (Edmonton: Government of Alberta, Executive Council, Human Resources Development Authority, 1968), p. 12.

Neither physical nor social planning in the future will be based on the traditional model of professionals applying a package of methods and programs to a passive citizenry. The emerging pattern must necessarily be based on shared goals arising from the unique attitudes, aspirations, and hopes of widely divergent groupings of people. Clearly, we must devise some way of humanizing the urban environment by rearranging the social organizational fabric and the service structure. In the end, the right actions are those which tend to preserve, establish, or re-establish the integrity, stability, beauty, and meaning of neighborhoods, areas, and regions that give their human occupants a sense of identification and purpose.

Priorities for Planning and Development in Urban Communities

It is my conclusion that the priorities for social planning and human development in the urban communities in Alberta are as follows:

(a) The development of research methodologies and techniques related to the establishment in urban Alberta communities of social indices of need. Traditional and current methods are basically economic in nature and have many shortcomings if we are to be genuinely concerned with human development. We need to develop a more precise "measuring stick" with respect to desirable changes in social structure and social service as they affect the social situation and the interaction pattern of individuals, families, and groups. The kind of data that should be accumulated and assessed to provide for this kind of social index includes life expectancy, infant mortality, disease incidence, educational background, divorce and illegitimacy, art and culture, work-patterns, leisure activities, citizen rights, citizen-participation rates, and related dimensions specific to particular urban environments. What is needed is the development of a general model rather than the prevailing partial or segmental approaches.

We would be most interested in helping in the development of a broad system of social accounting to extend from and incorporate the traditional economic accounting approach. In effect, what we need is a social and economic data bank, structured in a way which maximizes information and related to the analysis and assessment of social needs in a specific urban environment. Information to be programmed would describe in detail the characteristics of the people, the resources of the community, its institutional sub-systems, prevailing value orientations, characteristics of relationship and power, provision of goods and services, assessment of short supply and waste, and related characteristics that distinguish one urban environment from another.

A project of this kind should be undertaken on a provincial or regional basis and should be considered a primary instrument for shaping and directing both specific and general social policies. It would be essential to fund the project on a continuous basis with attention to:

(i) the review and assessment of existing data reporting systems;

(ii) the specification of desirable social accounts, including types and sources;

(iii) codification, analysis, and feedback to policy and administrative structures;

(iv) feasibility projections, including cost analysis, of alternative programs and policies;

(v) reconciliation of cybernetic proposals with humanistic concerns;

(vi) the role of the university in providing a home or base for the above social accounting system.

(b) **An experimental project over a three- to five- year period which would determine the economic, social, and structural advantages and/or disadvantages of "service" shopping centres.** The project would be based on the apparent case for coordination, decentralization, and integration of services focussing on individual and family needs. These services would include health, welfare, recreation, continuing education and library services, unemployment benefits, emergency requirements, and an information and referral service. As an initial step, I suggest that knowledge be gained of the Scandinavian experience to date, with its approach to services.[5] The project would be undertaken in cooperation with appropriate public and private service organizations. The selection of a population base of between 30,000 and 45,000 people, and the geographical boundaries of the demonstration project within the larger metropolitan and urban environment, would be determined in cooperation with the City Planning Department and the service organizations above noted.

Experience gained through this three- to five-year project would be constantly fed back to the service organizations-at-large for the purpose of evaluating and modifying the ongoing project, as well as to federal, provincial, municipal, and voluntary service organizations.

(5) See K. Astrom, *City Planning in Sweden* (Stockholm: The Swedish Institute, 1967).

Initially, I suggest that attention be given to:

(i) the development and analysis of a conceptual model for an integrated, coordinated approach to services;

(ii) examination of the correlation between the present approach to services, neighborhood structure, and citizen participation;

(iii) identification of the social functions to be performed by specified programs and processes;

(iv) assignment of specified service functions to particular organizations;

(v) development of instruments to facilitate critical assessment of both the assignment and capability of particular service organizations, with consideration of neighborhoods within the project area, as well as the relationship between the area and the metropolitan service-structure as a whole.

(c) **A study, complementary to the above, of contemporary experience in other urban communities in North America and Europe with an integrated, coordinated approach to the planning, development, and provision of health, welfare, education, and recreation services.**

(d) **A test of the validity of a new approach to "social" (as separate from economic) services for individuals, families, and groups, developed by Professor Eugene Heimler, London, England.**[6] The Social Functioning Scale and specific practice methodology related to its use purports to eliminate an enormous amount of traditional counselling by giving focus to the person's or persons' self-perception of satisfactions and frustrations in several life-task areas – for example, social functioning.

Two directions for research are indicated:

(i) collecting basic data, using the Scale of Social Functioning on different population groups; for example, those with different social problems – alcoholics, delinquents, unmarried mothers, the aged, the alienated, different ethnic groups, and so forth;

(ii) testing the measurement of " movement" or "change" as perceived by the recipients of various services. For this, too, the Scale of Social Functioning could be utilized.

(e) **The development of a model of neighborhood councils in one**

(6) See Eugene Heimler, *Mental Illness and Social Work* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1967), pp. 124–127.

of the neighborhoods adjacent to the downtown core of a large Alberta urban centre. There are, for example, in Calgary, between 12 and 15 such neighborhoods (depending on criteria used), all capable of renewing themselves with appropriate local citizen involvement and the cooperation of planners (both physical and social) and community organizations (economic, educational, health, social service, recreational, etc.).

It is proposed that one such neighborhood be selected as a model. The objective would be to use this local-citizen action-project to gain experience in an approach that could, with modification, be applied in all the neighborhoods ringing the downtown core of Alberta cities.

There is widespread agreement that the needs of people in older residential and mixed-use areas of large cities will be ignored unless specific action is taken to invent a local structure giving these neighborhoods a modest power-base on which to induce change in competition with the suburban middle-class and the downtown developers.

The proposal for the development of a model of a local-citizen action-group is seen as a most useful applied social research project. It should be clearly understood, however, that a study-action project of this kind will require a process of consultation, involvement, and action by residents of the neighborhood selected.

LOOKING AHEAD

The first paper in this concluding section is written by David Bettison. There are two aspects to Professor Bettison's paper. One deals with the major urban problems which stand in need of research from his perspective. The other tackles the question of how a social policy research organization might undertake a program of studies, especially in its relationship to those centres of power where crucial decisions are made on various aspects of urban life.

Dr. Bettison argues that the identification of research topics on urbanization must take into account five important variables:

(1) the limits of government policy;

(2) the relative merits of research which addresses short-term pressing, "political" problems *vis a vis* research which addresses the problems of guiding long-range, future-oriented urban policy;

(3) the changing trends in public expectations about urban life and the reactions of the public to the problems they face as urban-dwellers;

(4) the unique features of the process of urbanization in the local region; and

(5) the translation of urban research carried out elsewhere into the local context. According to Bettison, the priority of work should be, roughly, the inverse order of the variables listed above.

In his paper, Dr. Bettison stresses the importance of doing "practical" and "theoretical", as opposed to "applied", research. He draws interesting and useful distinctions between these kinds of research. Indeed, he emphasizes and explains the need to do urban research based on theoretical understandings in order to counter the tendency to see and define problems strictly from the perspective of the political and administrative decision-makers.

Dr. Bettison argues that research on urbanization should devote much of its energy and resources to urban planning and decision-making especially, but not only, ". . . to gain that understanding of the urbanization process that lets it be seen as a consequence of human decisions rather than as an amorphous organism describable in *post hoc* statistical trends and ciphers."

The paper concludes with a discussion of major social problems which stand in need of research, problems that relate to the social underpinning of urban life: "... the relations among the techno-economic structure, man's response to it, and provision of urban serv . . and environments." Dr. Bettison is especially interested in testing the notion that social, political, and economic decentralization is the way to preserve man's humanity.

The concluding contribution in this section of the monograph consists of recommendations made by staff to the Human Resources Research Council at the December 15, 1969 meeting. The chief recommendation is that the Council pursue, during 1970-71, preliminary work toward specifically defining a program area of urban studies.

TOWARD A PROGRAM OF STUDIES IN URBANIZATION

David G. Bettison*

Introduction

Urbanization has been the subject of a greater variety and volume of research than possibly any other social process except education. Taken overall, the subject is immensely rich in research data. A wide range of scholars has been concerned with this topic – from social anthropologists through architects and engineers to top-flight administrators. The study of urbanization has attracted an equally varied range of social pathologists. Any new research unit in the area will be rewarded by a slow, systematic identification of appropriate research topics. It is not an area where the most obvious research problems need urgent attention.

This identification must be the outcome of detailed but imaginative consideration of at least the following five interlocked variables:

(a) The limits to which government (party) policy is prepared to go in its approach to the stimulation and regulation of urbanization, and the emphasis government considers appropriate in the current political and public interest.

(b) The efficacy of, and anticipated returns from, enquiry into recognized, extant urban problems (usually one or another pathology)

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vis a vis enquiry into possible policies and regulatory provisions aimed at guiding future activity in such a way as to forestall the development of future problems and the consequent cost of their later amelioration.

(c) The North American trends in public sentiment and attitude toward urban living, toward the socio-economic processes that result in urbanization, and toward the technical means available to create human and physical environments different from those hitherto created as urban centres.

(d) The unique features of the urbanization process which the research unit will study.

(e) The research findings from studies done in similar or comparable situations elsewhere in the world, and the problem of relating such findings to local research-oriented hypotheses.

No one variable mentioned above can rightly be considered primary; but the local-provincial scene and the practicality of getting a research unit working usefully do suggest some order of priority for attention.

I suggest that variables (d) and (e) lend themselves to immediate attention, followed by (c) and finally (a) and (b). I base this recommendation on the criterion of duration of usefulness of the studies involved. The most enduring value will come from identification of the unique features of urbanization in Alberta when put in comparative perspective with research findings elsewhere in the world. This basic type of understanding tends to have a wide range of application, both in practical advice to local decision-makers and in the formulation of future, detailed research hypotheses in the local situation.

Put another way, the quickest road to effectiveness of the proposed research unit is to put itself into a position where its findings can aid a decision-maker in administration or politics faced with the question of relevance of findings from elsewhere to the unique situation of Alberta. The uncertainty raised by the possible inappropriateness of external evidence and advice to the local scene is removed when a research unit can indicate equivalence or dissonance. An understanding of basic data and processes of the urban scene has a dual relevance – to the decision-maker and to the identification of future research needs.

Trends in public attitude to urban living in North America [variable (c)] are changing, apparently quite rapidly, at the extremes of the urban class system. In the larger American conurbations there exists a volatility reflected in ghetto and race riots, youth's allegations

that it is alienated, etc., and at the other extreme, the trend is for upper-income families to forsake the peri-urban countryside for remote rural-pleasure living or for downtown apartments. Although public attitudes are never very satisfactory research topics, and the determinants of human action tend to be "slippery" and nebulous, considerable benefit can accrue from systematic analysis and accumulation of data in this area. Higher income levels, shorter working hours, smaller-sized families, easier peri-urban transport, and a wide scatter of public amenities such as senior schools and technical institutions are among the phenomena likely to increase the flexibility of public attitudes toward urban living.

Variables (a) and (b) tend to fluctuate in terms of local political expediency, public concern over fashionable urban pathologies – from parking to hooliganism and illegitimacy – and the pressure on the provincial government from local authorities for more advantageous financing, industrial distribution, etc.

As a matter of general policy, it is often wiser for a research unit to turn a rather blind eye to demands on its resources aimed at finding solutions to extant and identified pathologies such as crime, traffic congestion, slum environments, and so on. Research provides greater returns if it can be directed toward long-term trends, the likely outcomes of alternative policies to those now favored, demographic phenomena, and the more profound criteria associated with business and industrial decisions, etc. These are less in the public eye, less conspicuous as political footballs, require uncommon expertise to assemble and interpret, yet are always fundamental in the stimulation and regulation of the urbanization process. Any research organization responsible for determining research policy of this kind, however, should be aware of the possibility of public criticism, and also, frequently, of the criticism of political parties, both of which seek and expect answers and solutions right now. *Ad hoc* research, immediate solutions, and applied research tend, however, to be limited in their returns.

Lastly, in this connection, it is wiser to devote a long time – even as long as two years – to the identification of a focus of research than to move into apparently obvious problems from the start. Once a low-level standard of research has been initiated, it is difficult to change. The very process of accumulating local and comparative information in a newly urbanized region such as Alberta is itself very rewarding if carried out systematically and imaginatively. The province clearly does not have an overabundance of highly skilled research personnel in the universities, in government service, or in private enterprise. The highest initial returns may well come from stimulating

what exists, from coordinating findings by passing on information, from arranging technical discussion groups – in preference to conferences – from seeking out and evaluating the massive accumulation of apparently unanalyzed data to be found in provincial and municipal records, etc. None of this is likely to be initially spectacular, but it is fundamental as a resource for both subsequent enquiries and decision-making.

The Depth of Research

I have already indicated the limited value of *ad hoc* research and suggested that the less obvious, more fundamental issues surrounding urbanization are most rewarding in the long term.

I wish now to turn to these fundamental issues and to implications of research for the formulation of public policy. The discussion will reflect on variables (a), (b), and (c) of the previous section. The discussion is arranged to include: (1) the nature and role of research; (2) social research and social planning; and (3) the social underpinning of urban life.

1. **The nature and role of research.** Clearly differentiating among, and determining the contribution of, *applied*, *practical*, and *theoretical* research is the nub of devising an effective research program. *Applied* research in the social sciences means determining by empirical enquiry the most expeditious and thrifty ways of implementing a predetermined result. It has become prominent in recent decades through such programs as the War on Poverty and slum clearance, with clearly defined results expected from them. Its characteristic is that the ultimate end to be achieved is determined ahead of the research and usually by a political or administrative authority rather than from the evidence of research.

Practical research is concerned with matters of the day, with "problems"; but a problem, it must be remembered, is a subjective judgement, a creation of one's mind, as a result of particular values or preconceptions. It must always carry with it the question: whose problem? It is not a phenomenon (in the Kantian sense) of the external world as such. Practical research is characterized by having the solution to a "problem" left open, to be determined during the research or after the findings are known. Possible solutions emerge as a consequence of research.

Theoretical research is concerned with the development of models which depict how a given process or phenomenon works, with the formulation of abstract hypotheses about practical matters, and the

testing of abstractions in practical ways. It is characterized by having the researcher decide on the nature of the problem about which he wishes to generate theory, and the means whereby he wishes to test his hypotheses.

A research unit is involved inevitably with all three types of research; but the emphasis it gives to each, and the use it makes of each in its own work, stamps it with a public image and at the same time determines the longer term effectiveness of its efforts.

The Human Resources Research Council's *Report on Forward Planning*[1] suggests that research activities be on an explicitly mission-oriented basis, i.e., that research should have "clear social purposes in mind"[2] and that "each project must be directed towards goals having a high degree of social importance".[3] The Report calls for clear specification of missions or targets. Insofar as this implies a thoroughly practical research orientation and a clarity of problem area for investigation, it is to be commended.

Nevertheless, a research unit can waste a lot of time and energy devising knowledge about how to cope with a problem that "exists," not because of any lack of knowledge about possible solutions, but because of the reluctance of centres of power and decision to act in ways that already fairly clearly suggest themselves. Such centres of power and decision expect research to find a hybrid solution, or an alternative solution, that will leave intact particular issues they wish to have retained.

A second imperative in this orientation is to determine what is "socially important" on a long-term basis rather than on the basis of what is fashionable and temporarily urgent from the point of view of an issue that a change in government policy or the mass media would alter. The importance of problems for research must also be interpreted in terms of the likelihood of a solution coming from within the dynamics of the community itself and without the aid of research findings. In the highly volatile nature of contemporary cities, this is more than just a possibility.

A research unit may feel obliged to work on a limited number of applied topics. But it cannot afford to engage in very many, as the rather unhappy experience of applied research in American poverty

(1) Prepared for presentation to the October 2–3 meeting of the Alberta Human Resources Research Council, Edmonton, October, 1969.

(2) *Ibid*, p. 6.

(3) *Ibid*, p. 11.

programs indicates. In the modern political environment of the city it is a hazardous proposition and likely to fall between the organized interests of the people who are affected by its work and those of power centres anxious to find a scapegoat for their embarrassments. Applied research tends also to be narrow in the application of its results. Its findings tend to be specific to the issue to which it was addressed.

South Africa and Australia have both made extensive use of practical research-oriented organizations. In this regard their experience is far ahead of that of Canada, which has tended to rely on United States expertise and advice. Despite the popular Canadian view of these countries, their urban development has been phenomenal. South Africa, in particular, has been prominent in personnel research, originated by its problems as a gold producer with a long-term fixed price for its product. The experience of the South African Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) and of the Australian Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organization (CSIRO) – two organizations whose contribution to those formerly underdeveloped countries has been immeasurably great – has borne out the wisdom of not relying exclusively upon short-term, applied research. The longer view, theoretical considerations, and systematic arrangement of parts to generate an overall concept of a research problem have been crucial to their success.

Sound practical research is the consequence of clear theoretical understanding. This understanding relates the formulation of the "problem"as presented by decision-makers, and the values implicit in their formulation both to the structural, socio-physical situation as empirically determined by phenomenological enquiry and to the state of mind and mental disposition of people affected by any solution to that "problem." It cannot afford to omit consideration of any of these intricately interrelated parts. Unlike the objects studied in the natural sciences, people answer back; they do so in unexpected ways, and unhappily tend to disregard the universal laws through which the intellectual attempts to understand them!

Theory, when kept central to research formulation, tends to counter the tendency to see problems only in terms of the decision-makers' perspective. Theoretically formulated research into practical matters has two other advantages: first, the data obtained in the course of the research tends to have breadth in application – as broad as the limitations of theory themselves allow; second, the solutions suggested by the research are capable of adjustment, of ordering, and of selection by preference to the particular biases and preferences of power and decision centres.

In the final analysis, research can never take the place of politics or administration, but it can aid in the weighing up of probabilities by these authorities. The difficulty the researcher encounters is in persuading authorities that their conceptions of possible solutions do, or do not, accord with the empirically ascertained nature of the situation itself — that the measures they are disposed to adopt are, or are not, likely to prove effective.

2. **Social research and social planning.** Planning in one form or another is today characteristic of urbanization. It ranges from the urban immigrant, who intends to use the city as part of his personal conception of himself and of the world, to the master city planner with projections for two decades ahead.

In consequence, I argue that a research program on urbanization must devote considerable energy and resources to the study of urban planners, urban decision-makers, and industrialists and businessmen who seek profits from the city and employ its labor force. This conclusion is reached after consideration of the following evidence:

With the exception of isolated instances (for example, company towns, national capitals such as Canberra, and some "garden cities"), the modern industrial city is rarely pre-planned. Planning tends to lag one step behind an already established trend. Planning tends to be set up to cope with established trends; it happens after the fact rather than before. This is so, even in the planning of residential suburbs; the trend to suburbia and the resulting regional sprawl has already set in when the plan is formulated to cope with it.

Planning of public amenities, in a free-enterprise economy especially, but in others as well, is compromised planning. The planner is given a free hand only in terms of the preconditions stipulated for him. The dilution of the planner's autonomy under free enterprise is not merely a matter of large and only partly regulated private investment, but of the private individual's choice to, say, drive a car instead of using public transport. The capital cost of purchasing a car is an inducement for its owner to get something out of it every day, quite apart from the often questionable advantage it may have in providing him with "freedom". So long as public values maintain this private right of decision at both the individual and corporate level, the public amenities planner must be at the "tail end of the horse."

The consequence of this situation has been the development of specialist services to advise upon and cope with features of urbanization that are tending towards "problem" dimensions. Transportation systems-analysts of many kinds have been prominent among these

specialists, but specialists are not limited to this area alone, as illustrated by the existence of slum clearance, urban renewal, regional planning, and recreational specialists.

The "problem-solving" specialist is in an advantageous position in the implementation of plans; he acts in emergency situations. The more generalized "master planner" has broader interests that are essentially future-oriented. He is intent upon weighing the pros and cons of a variety of choices that influence a world not yet in existence. His work is creative in a synthetic sense – involving both the physical and human attributes of man.

The "problem-solving" specialist sets in motion a series of consequences for aspects of city life other than those with which he is concerned. The building of city expressways made it convenient to use the one passenger-occupied car, exacerbated central parking congestion, encouraged population movement to suburbia, increased the deficit of public transport, encouraged the redistribution of retail outlets to the suburbs, and threatened the viability of the downtown core of large cities. The transport planner's conception is inevitably metropolitan and assumes the establishment of regional authorities to coordinate services. Problems of local government, often produced by suburbia's unwillingness to cooperate with the central city, follow closely on the heels of the problem-solving specialist. The master planner is left in a world of constant readjustment.

This is no criticism of transport planners; they have done a remarkably efficient job! But it does underscore the importance, even necessity, of a research program which will examine the process whereby "problems" are generated, identified, and brought to the attention of decision-makers, and handled in terms of short- or long-term solutions. Furthermore, the research program must examine the relative influence of particular planning and administrative interests in particular problems. *As a practical project, I would examine the history of the town-planning departments of the major local authorities, of relevant provincial government departments, and of the use of outside specialist advice.*

The purpose of studying the planning process is not necessarily to facilitate the injection of research findings into particularly crucial and susceptible points in the decision-making process -- though this may have advantages – *but to gain that understanding of the urbanization process that lets it be seen as a consequence of human decisions rather than as an amorphous organism describable in post hoc statistical trends and ciphers.* A research program, the findings from which remain at the statistical-trends level, must suffer the inadequacy of gross uncertainty

in prediction. Social phenomena are the consequence of human decisions made in a structural context.

The same argument applies to the need to research the decisions taken by business leaders. Economic theories of cost or competitive advantage must be tested empirically from the evidence available in practical situations. That political considerations enter the decisions of international business management is commonly known, but the details that surround the weighting of multifaceted situations in a given region are less well known. The relation of business to political agencies is often, quite erroneously, assumed to be direct and influential. The need is to know the conditions under which it is, or is not, and the consequences likely to follow from either case.

A second project, related but conceptually different, concerns enquiry into the nature of urban planning itself rather than the processes involved in it. The evidence for this may be found in the changes that are identifiable in the nature of planning in the past. The surveyor, who mapped grid schemes of rectangular blocks largely for the benefit of salesmen and builders, gave way to the engineer, intent upon providing urban services and utilities. Public concern over slums on the one hand and housing on the other, had in common a presupposition about physical order, of standards and sub-standards in the physical world. Similarly, concern over public health on the one hand and education on the other reflected the same search for order in health and personality-building facilities. The same search generated the regulation and control of city growth and the use of business management to run the city. The private search for profits had to be modified in the interest of human and physical order and the instrument used was the legislating of minimum standards.

The first master-plan for a city was drafted in America about 1914. Master-plans envisaged control being built-in in advance; the influence which the master-plan has had on zoning for land use, neighborhood concepts, and on the powers of local authorities to facilitate coordination of diverse activities and interests has remained. In this instance, the city was conceived as a system of buildings and land uses within which human politico-economic forces on the one hand, and personal social responses to these forces on the other, were to be conducted. It was an almost Platonic view of the city as an orderly and finished work of art.[4]

(4) I refer to two excellent articles by Herbert J. Gans and Charles Madge, "Planning, Social" in the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* Vol. 12, pp. 125–136. (Toronto: The Macmillan Company, 1968).

Following World War II, planners lost much of their faith in the general plan because of the frequency with which political approval was given deviant development proposals. The city had taken on, it appeared, a dynamic of its own for which the plan had not provided or with which the profession was unable to cope. The motor vehicle and suburban sprawl obliged the political decision-makers to acknowledge the case for metropolitan and regional planning that the planners themselves had been proposing since the decades between the wars. In the city itself, planners had to diversify their professional resources by the inclusion of sociologists, educators, welfare planners, and other social engineers. The general plan of previous decades gradually gave way to specific, small-scale, but incremental plans likely to help people rather than to ensure physical symmetry and rationality in the tripartite relation: home-work-services. In the United States, for example, increasing political unrest in cities has stimulated this trend. Downtown property and business interests have adopted a new and sympathetic interest in planning, as the viability of the downtown area has come increasingly into question from both financial and political sources.

The nub of the research problem is that despite the conventional conception of planning as a method of rational decision-making that counterposes means and ends, the historical evidence suggests that the ends themselves are flexible, the product of "climates of opinion," as Carl Becker calls them.[5] The truth is that the goals of planning are not clearly defined or capable of measurement. The planners themselves are frequently unaware of the relevance or antiquatedness of their own preconceptions, as the conflicts between older and younger generations of planners in municipal offices, and the resignations from such offices, suggest. The objectives of the plan and its implementation need to be understood as social facts in the Durkheimian sense as variables in their own right.[6]

In more general terms, the problem is one of ideology – the concept of the good society–that politicians since Roosevelt's "New Deal," both in Canada and the United States, have meticulously formulated. The presupposition of former centuries, that the "social" will automatically look after itself if man only follows "natural laws," has given way to the recognition that the social is a deliberate creation as much as anything else in man's affairs. Though man does not often see the social in these terms, he is coming increasingly to do so. The formulation and reformulation of ideology as a persistent

(5) C. L. Becker, *The Heavenly City of the 18th Century Philosophers* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1932), Chapter 1.

(6) E. Durkheim, *The Rules of Sociological Method* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964).

habit of politicians is symptomatic of a social situation that no program of urbanization research can afford to disregard. Throughout the complex history of civilizations, urban areas have been the primary sources of fundamental social changes in the society at large. The politician with his ear close to the ground is aware of this.

The research problem becomes one of identifying the nature of future planning. What sort of additional information and statistical evidence should be procured now to ease the future role of planning? To what extent are the forces that created the planning objectives of the past still present? To what extent are new forces entering the picture? These are difficult questions, but if the problem is relevant, it is precisely the task of a research program to attempt both an answer and an empirically-based prediction. Planning in Alberta may follow the United States in many of its particular aspects. Such a situation may change the orientation of the enquiry, but does not remove the local research problem or its practical value.

3. The Social underpinning of urban life. Increasingly, automated industrial processes no longer result in workers smashing plants, but rather in expectations of higher real income and shorter hours of work. Many of Alberta's principal industrial processes are readily automated, and it seems that an urban research program should be studying this process rather closely. The concern is not so much with the process within the industry, but with the changes in the daily lives of people affected by it and in the preconceptions of people about themselves and their lives, and their expectations about the automated society. For the first time in man's history, he is being relieved of the necessity to produce. The contemporary world as experienced by the bulk of urban dwellers, the so-called middle class, rests very largely on faith—faith that the good life can be made to continue if only it is properly managed, faith in the continuation of respect for the dignity of man, faith in the willingness of government and communal resources to meet elementary needs if ordinary activities fail, and so on.

At the two extremes of the urban-class system, rather different preconceptions prevail. The managerial classes increasingly are broadening their horizons and their identification of the forces influencing their economic activities. World travel, internationally organized business, organized world trade, among others, are contributing toward this mental expansion. Their city of residence is but a headquarters for alliances outside it. So long as the city of residence meets this class's elementary personal needs, and is a suitable instrument for facilitating widespread interaction beyond it, the resident is disposed to direct his interests and attention elsewhere. This is a significant change in the orientation of these particularly influential persons in the urbanization

process. The city is no longer essential in the economic pursuits of this class; it is now a facilitating mechanism for only a limited part of such pursuits. The orientation of this class to the physical world has moved far beyond the city.

At the other extreme of the class system, where numbers rather than economic influence play their part, automated processes have tended to confirm their long-felt experience that man need have less and less to do with the physical process of production. Man's pre-eminence over the physical is now such that his involvement with it is somewhat distasteful. Involvement with the self and with other selves is one of man's responses. The demand for individual creativity, for personal licence, for some meaningful identity with the whole vast process going on around and on top of one, are other responses. One implication of this for decision-makers is the need to reconsider the principles governing social welfare. Proposals for a negative income tax, for directing sources of employment into depressed areas by tax relief or by guaranteed government contracts, and for urban renewal are an expression both of the import of lower-class demands and of measures to take the lid off their significance. The threat to employment that automated processes involve has so far been siphoned off by increases in demand for personal services, and service industries have thus far taken up the slack.

This whole area is bristling with uncertainties. *The relations among the techno-economic structure, man's responses to it, and the planning and provision of urban services and environments are currently the most unknown areas in the whole urban situation. I suggest it is one with which a research unit on urbanization must get involved.*

At a more political level, the situation appears to take on another dimension. On the one hand, the scale of organization is increasing to a world dimension with the computer and telecommunication as the instruments facilitating it. The local parish, town, province, or even nation, is no longer in the race. Man, whether as person or as a natural species, is bound to be seen increasingly as a cipher, another automated product. On the other hand, man is responding by organized confrontation and is coming to learn that it pays, it works. Relative deprivation as underlined by the contrast between personal "poverty" and mass media financed by consumer-product advertising, or the ease whereby "others," from sergeants to generals, from income tax evasionists to the leaders of C. Wright Mills' military-industrial complex[7] can work the world while "I" cannot, are powerful mental

(7) C. W. Mills, *The Power Elite* (London: Oxford University Press, 1956).

perspectives. The "system" and its "structure" are seen as working against the interests of man in general and especially of the majority of men. The counter-argument, that it is this system that delivers the goods, has little influence, for it is precisely the extant "social" that men with a mission take for granted.

The whole complex of issues is best illustrated in a book of readings edited by Perruci and Pilisuk, *The Triple Revolution: Social Problems in Depth*.[8] There may not appear to be very much in this book that serious urban researchers and administrators can agree with, but the issue is precisely that the affected do see their world in these terms and that the urban administrator wastes his time in trying to show their errors or to convey the reasons why he did or does something that is now the topic of criticism or suspicion. The self-confidence of youth and the conceit of the deprived have been a feature of mankind over the ages. They have not changed and it behooves research to identify the phenomenon in its modern form and to consider in good time the possible solutions to it.

Among the practical possibilities, there is a need to resuscitate the long-standing issue of decentralization of employment facilities. For many decades, especially in the 1930's to 1950's, theoretical and practical attention was devoted to "maximum" or "optimum" size of particular types of urban areas. Such alternatives as garden cities and new towns were experimented with as deliberate constructions. Most were limited, however, because they became dormitory appendages to major metropolitan areas and as such formed part of the planning of suburbia. Like other appendages, their success has been questionable.

The underlying issue, to which research should be directed, is the inducement needed to encourage industry and other employment facilities to locate in villages and small towns rather than in established cities. The provincial government has recognized the need as a matter of policy to decentralize government services. The federal government's recent financial assistance to distribute and resuscitate both industry and private capital in selected areas of the country is a move aimed at influencing private investment in this direction. Such measures provide opportunities for research in understanding the attractions needed by business and employees. Australia has half-heartedly toyed with this policy for two decades, but the fact that Australia is now the most urbanized of world nations – as measured by the ratio of rural-to-urban population – suggests the presence of difficulties. Research in this area will not be wasted effort. Alberta appears to have a much better

(8) Robert Perruci and Mark Pilisuk, *The Triple Revolution: Social Problems in Depth* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1968).

developed infrastructure of transport and public facilities than had Australia, and the conditions for decentralization may be present in this province.

This type of investigation seems particularly timely in Alberta. Edmonton and Calgary have not reached the point that Melbourne and Sydney did, for example, where such factors as renovation and maintenance, and the high cost of additional services, absorbed public money to the point where insufficient funds remained to fund initial development of small towns. The underdeveloped state of the rural infrastructure exacerbated this position. But additions to the large cities only increase the pressure to go on meeting their expanding requirements, often at increasing per-unit cost. Early regulation is the key to eventual effectiveness in this matter also, and the purpose of research into it is to provide knowledge that facilitates the decision to change or reorientate policy. Research that is concerned only with the problems derived from the application of existing policy can never achieve this.

The relation between decentralization and the social underpinning of urban life may not be immediately apparent. The explanation is at two levels. First, the enhanced quality of face-to-face relations in smaller towns, the easier perception of the whole physical unit of social interaction encouraging the creation of acceptable grounds for social distance among groups and classes, the greater variety of cheap and constructive things to do in the small town, and the host of things that contribute to social control through conscience rather than through the police, are among the important factors. Second, the climate of opinion in the small town that is itself dynamic and "on the way" brings to human consciousness the inspiration to identify with it. The individual feels not alienated from it but party to its own future. This does not mean that conflicts do not arise – they do in all human situations. But, in the small town, their form takes that of generating the conditions for continued growth rather than those of destruction of the whole and its replacement by something else. The pursuit of power alone as the only means of setting the world aright tends to be destructive to what exists.

I argue that although the physical world is still moving towards bigger and bigger scales, the social world of human life is urging smaller and smaller units of operation. Such divergence of direction can only lead to socio-political disorder. As the technical means to decentralize are available, their implementation is a pressing issue of public policy and one with which urbanization research should be intimately involved.

The Flexibility of Research

Urbanization research must retain flexibility in the sense that as soon as any research is identified as revealing platitudinous results, or has become bogged down through being refused the data necessary for its work, it should be redirected to another topic. Professional researchers like to conclude a study and tend to do so at any price. It is cheaper and wiser in terms of personnel to cut one's losses and start again than to hold on because a project has been started.

The implication of this tendency is less severe on research being undertaken through the financial backing afforded an outside and independent study. There are other research sources of funding to turn to if the researcher remains convinced of the efficacy of his work. Its implications are severe for researchers appointed to the research program's staff. The wisest policy in this regard is to commission a staff with broad rather than technical or specific interests and aptitudes. Technical or specific aptitudes can usually be obtained most effectively by putting out a contract to private research undertakings, or by buying their advisory services.

A staff with broad interests and aptitudes is also more congenial to the policy- and decision-makers with whom it is obliged inevitably to work. Its members are capable of supporting by argument and advice the work of their colleagues and of undertaking work in a broad spectrum of problem areas. They are inevitably more expensive to hire, but nowhere more than in research does quality pay off.

Flexibility in research is possible only if the research projects have an underlying coordination or theme. Practical research needs to be masterminded. The implications and relevance of one set of findings for the problem being researched somewhere else must be identified and transcribed. An unsystematic collection of *ad hoc* projects provides few reciprocal benefits, and adds little to an understanding of the process of urbanization in a given locality. It is the master mind, the generalist, who finally brings the patterns being examined into a systematic formulation based upon diverse evidence. He is also the master mind who identifies the next set of hypotheses that both test the conclusions already drawn and create the conditions for further significant research. Too many research operations with practical implications fail for lack of effective masterminding. Many fail because the research is implicitly applied in character rather than practical, as defined above. The snide remark about much American research – that, if it is failing, double its grant – is both inappropriate to the rapidly developing Alberta scene and far from appropriate to a new organization whose reputation has yet to be built.

POSTSCRIPT

POLICY RECOMMENDATION TO THE HUMAN RESOURCES RESEARCH COUNCIL

At the last meeting with Council, October 2nd and 3rd, 1969, a brief concerning the role of urban studies in HRRC was presented by HRRC staff. In following the directives given by Council at that time, a Symposium on Urban Studies sponsored by HRRC staff, was held November 21, 1969. The 13 papers presented and discussed by interested persons from Calgary, Edmonton, and Lethbridge indicated the concern and urgency with which urban problems are viewed, as well as the availability of capable and willing participants should such a program be implemented.

It is on this basis that the HRRC staff recommends that the council pursue during the coming year preliminary work toward a specific definition of the program area of urban studies:

1. The Human Resources Research Council would move deliberately and carefully during the next year to identify and formulate the priorities for a program of urban research in a context consistent with the aims of the Human Resources Research Council. The specification of missions and goals is inherent in this task.

2. The development of an appropriate conceptual framework, one allowing maximum integration with those theme areas presently established and operational[1], will be of particular importance during this planning year.

3. Possible sources of outside funding would be determined, and subsequently the preparation of proposals to acquire this funding would be undertaken. It is anticipated that a large proportion of Council's urban research might eventually be funded by outside agencies.

4. Two needs would be recognized as being of immediate significance:

a. The codification of existing literature on urban studies in Alberta – at the present time, this service does not exist. Studies and accounts of experiences with urban problems, both outside and within Alberta would be included. This would involve a thorough bibliographic search and a search for unpublished data, incorporating provision for yearly updating of the material, which would be made available to

(1) The other programs of study are Education Studies, Socio-economic Opportunity Studies, Planning Studies (including Studies of the Future), and Human Behavior Studies.

all interested urban scholars in the province.

b. The development of specifications for the collection, storage, and retrieval of data pertinent to urban research – this is essential at the planning stage.

Work in these two areas would be of immediate use, as well as being preliminary to the delimitation of goals and research priorities and the preparation of proposals.

5. Exploratory study of the literature toward the clarification of urban alternatives with regard to both intra-urban and inter-urban issues would provide a further basis for goal formulation.

6. The development of in-house staff capability in the field of urban studies, during the next year, is considered desirable. One full-time senior person would be instrumental in guiding the evolution of a program of urban studies in the Human Resources Research Council, and in establishing liaison with those scholars in Alberta universities qualified to participate in a future full-scale research program.

7. The Human Resources Research Council staff would be prepared to collaborate with the Premier's staff in fulfilling its recent commitment to a study of urban life in Alberta. If requested, the Human Resources Research Council could aid in coordinating the research efforts for the study.

8. The Human Resources Research Council staff suggests that attention to the urban and regional planning process in Alberta would serve as a continuing focus for its work in urban studies.

9. The possible development of a systematic and comprehensive program of urban studies, organized on a province-wide basis, is seen as an eventual outgrowth of HRRC's planning for urban research. We would hope for an integrated and cooperative effort with the universities and other appropriate agencies in the province.

RECOMMENDATION

That the Human Resources Research Council proceed in the field of urban studies according to the above framework – that is, in the form of a "planning year" and that Council give approval, in principle, to this agenda.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

David G. Bettison graduated from Rhodes University, Cape Province, South Africa, and conducted urbanization research at the Rhodes Livingstone Institute, Zambia, and for the Urban African Affairs Commission, Salisbury in 1957. In 1959, he taught sociology at the University of Queensland, and subsequently took responsibility for the New Guinea Research Unit. He was Professor of Anthropology in the Political Science, Anthropology, and Sociology Department at Simon Fraser University from 1965 to 1969, when he joined the University of Lethbridge as Professor of Anthropology.

Michael R. C. Coulson (received his his B.A. from the University of Durham, and his graduate degrees from the University of Kansas. He is currently Acting Head and Associate Professor in the Department of Geography at the University of Calgary. His geographic fields of interest are urban geography and cartography. Presently, his research involves study of the evolution of general electoral boundaries in Alberta, a study of historical land use and occupance in downtown Calgary, and an analysis of population age structure.

Stanley Drabek is Acting Head and Assistant Professor of the Department of Political Science at the University of Calgary. He received his undergraduate and Master of Arts degrees from Queen's University, Kingston, and is completing his doctorate through the University of Toronto. His interests are in urban, provincial, and Canadian governments.

Robert R. Gilsdorf joined the Department of Political Science at the University of Alberta as Assistant Professor in 1964. He holds a bachelor's degree in Industrial Engineering from Ohio State University. After working for several years as an engineer, Mr. Gilsdorf undertook graduate work in political science at Ohio State University, and subsequently at Yale University, from which he holds a master's degree, and where his Ph.D. is pending. His major research interests are in political parties and political participation, from a comparative perspective.

Louis Hamill received his Bachelor of Science and Master of Science degrees from the New York State College of Forestry at Syracuse University. In 1963, he was awarded a Ph.D. in Geography from the University of Washington, Seattle. Before

joining the Department of Geography at the University of Calgary in 1963, he taught at the University of Oregon. He is presently Associate Professor of Geography at the University of Calgary. His fields of interest are recreation and resources, and he has done much work in Calgary in these areas.

Eric J. **Hanson** gained his Master of Arts in Economics from the University of Alberta, and his Ph.D. from Clark University in Massachusetts. He was Professor and Head of the Department of Political Economy at the University of Alberta from 1957 to 1964, and continues at the University as Professor of Economics. He was Associate Dean of the Faculty of Graduate Studies from 1964 to 1967 and is presently on the Board of Governors and General Faculty Council of the University of Alberta. Dr. Hanson has been a member of an interdisciplinary committee on urban and regional planning since 1965. His interests are in public finance, public utility economics, and petroleum economics, and he has been the author of many articles and numerous books and monographs.

H. Peter M. **Homenuck**, Assistant Professor of Geography at the University of Calgary, received his undergraduate training at Waterloo University College. Master's degrees in Geography and in City Planning were awarded him by the University of Cincinnati, from which he also received a Ph.D. in Geography in 1969. Dr. Homenuck's research interests include spatial decision-making, regional planning and small community problems, and urban studies. He is currently studying the role of labor unions in planning community development.

Denis B. **Johnson** did his undergraduate work at the University of British Columbia and received his M.A. in Geography from the University of Alberta, in 1963. His Ph.D. in Geography was awarded from Queen's University, Belfast. At present, he is Assistant Professor of Geography at the University of Alberta. His current research deals primarily with aspects of the commercial structure of Edmonton and Calgary.

George **Kupfer** took his undergraduate training at Seattle Pacific College, and did his graduate work at the University of Washington, Seattle. He received his Ph.D. in Sociology in 1966. He is Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Alberta, and currently Acting Chairman of the Interdisciplinary M.A. program in Community Development. He has done considerable research in urban sociology in Edmonton.

Jack Masson is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Alberta. He received both his B.A. in Far Eastern Studies and his M.A. in Political Science from the University of Oregon. His Ph.D. is pending from the University of Washington. His research interests include law enforcement, and he is presently involved in a study of urban transit in Edmonton.

Peter J. Smith is Professor and Head of the Department of Geography at the University of Alberta. He received his bachelor's and master's degrees from the University of New Zealand. In 1959, he obtained a diploma in Town and Regional Planning from the University of Toronto, and in 1964, his Ph.D. in Geography from the University of Edinburgh. He is also a member of the Town Planning Institute of Canada. Dr. Smith has served on numerous university committees, done considerable work in Alberta as a planner and consultant, and is currently a Councillor of the Canadian Association of Geographers.

Earle A. Snider joined the Department of Sociology at the University of Alberta as Assistant Professor in 1969. His undergraduate work was in Psychology at the University of Alberta, and he received his master's degree in Sociology at the University of Calgary. His Ph.D. in Sociology was gained from Michigan State University in 1969. He is presently doing comparative studies of urban integration, longitudinal voluntary migration studies, and research in urban planning.

F. H. (Tim) Tyler received a Bachelor of Commerce degree from the University of Alberta, and a bachelor's degree in Social Work from the University of British Columbia. He subsequently obtained a master's degree in Social Work from the University of Toronto and a doctorate in Education at Columbia University. At present, he is Director of the School of Social Welfare at the University of Calgary.

Robert W. Wright is an Associate Professor in the Department of Economics, and Vice-Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, at the University of Calgary. He received his bachelor's and master's degrees in Economics from the University of Alberta, and in 1962 he was awarded his Ph.D. from Manchester. His interests are in urban economics and design.

APPENDIX I

URBAN RESEARCH CAPABILITY IN ALBERTA

University of Calgary

Department of Economics – The Department of Economics offers both an undergraduate and a graduate course in urban economics (Economics 353 and 560, respectively), as well as the economics of human resources (Economics 531). In addition, several courses having urban inputs are available to the student. R. W. Wright and J.E. Stahl, faculty members of the department, have interests in urban economics.

Department of Geography - Courses directly relevant to urban studies offered by the Department are Geography in Planning (410), Urban Geography (426), Geography of Recreation and Amenities (494), and Topics in Urban Geography (526). M.R.C. Coulson, H.P.M. Homenuck, and L. Hamill are urban and recreation geographers.

Department of Political Science – In the Department of Political Science, S. Drabek is especially concerned with urban affairs. The department offers Political Science 425 (Local Government) and Political Science 351 (Public Administration), which are related to urban topics.

The Committee on Resources, the Environment and Planning – An interdisciplinary Master's degree in the general field of resources, the environment, and planning is offered by the committee. Staff involved in the committee are from ten departments and faculties.

University of Alberta

Department of Economics – Courses offered which pertain to the urban economy include Economics 550 and 551 (The Public Sector of the Economy), Economics 552 (Urban Economics), and Economics 652 (Topics in Public Economics). Staff with research interests in urban topics are Dr. E.J. Hanson and Dr. V. Salyzyn.

Department of Geography – Courses related to urban studies which are offered by the department are: Geography 410 (Geography in Planning), Geography 380 (Settlement), Geography 480 (Urban Geography), Geography 508 (Land Use Planning and Analysis), Geography 512 (Advanced Urban), and Geography 580 (Advanced Settlement). In addition, courses in population, recreation, and

industrial geography have strong urban components. P.J. Smith, D.B. Johnson, and L. Kosinski are urban specialists. A visiting professor and post-doctoral fellow are also urban geographers.

Department of Political Science – Professors Masson, Gilsdorf, and Mote are interested in urban affairs. Courses offered with urban inputs are Local Government and Politics (Political Science 323). Comparative Urban Political Systems (Political Science 324), Canadian Public Administration (Political Science 425 and 450), Urban Analysis (525), and Readings in Urban Analysis (625).

Department of Sociology – The Department of Sociology offers Urban Sociology (Sociology 353), Sociology of the Metropolis (453), Seminar in Urban Society (553), and Methods and Documents in Population and Urban Analysis (554), which are directly related to urban studies. In addition, courses in demography, ecology, and economic development have definite urban aspects. K. Krotki, G. Kupfer, E. Snider, W. McVey, and F. Sukdeo have research interests in urban studies.

University of Lethbridge

At the University of Lethbridge, the establishment of a multidisciplinary major in urban studies has been agreed to in principle. The program will include introductory and senior courses in Economics, Geography, Political Science, Sociology, and Statistics. Staff interested in urban studies include A.J. Long and F.Q. Quo of the Department of Political Science, F.J. Jankunis and G. Zieber of the Department of Geography, and J. Schuyff of the Department of Economics.

APPENDIX II

URBAN STUDIES RESEARCH CENTERS

Following is a list of public and private research agencies engaged in urban research. The centers for the United States are listed alphabetically by state.

ARIZONA

1. Center for the Study of Urban Systems
   Director: William S. Peters
   Arizona State University
   Tempe, Arizona 85281

CALIFORNIA

2. Center for Social Planning
   Director: Leonard Duhl
   University of California
   Berkeley, California 94720

3. Institute of Urban and Regional Development
   Director: William L.C. Wheaton
   University of California
   Berkeley, California 94720

4. Center for Planning and Development Research
   Acting Director: Melvin M. Webber
   Institute of Urban and Regional Development
   University of California
   Berkeley, California 94720

5. Center for Real Estate and Urban Economics
   Acting Director: Wallace F. Smith
   Institute of Urban and Regional Development
   University of California
   Berkeley, California 94720

6. International Population and Urban Research
   Director: Kingsley Davis
   Institute of International Studies
   University of California
   Berkeley, California 94720

7. Housing, Real Estate, and Urban Land Studies Program

(Formerly: Real Estate Research Program)
Director: Fred E. Case
Assoc. Director: Frank G. Mittelbach
Graduate School of Business
University of California
Los Angeles, California 90024

8. Institute of Urban Ecology
Director: Arthur A. Atkisson, Jr.
University of Southern California
Los Angeles, California 90007

9. Urban and Regional Studies
Director: Eric E. Duckstad
Stanford Research Institute
333 Ravenswood Avenue
Menlo Park, California 94025

10. Center for Urban Studies
San Fernando Valley State College
Northridge, California 91326

11. Social Research Center
Director: Aubrey Wendling
San Diego State College
San Diego, California 92115

12. Urban Studies Program
Director: C.B. Roseman
San Francisco State College
San Francisco, California 94132

13. Community and Organization Research Institute
Director: David Gold
University of California
Santa Barbara, California 93106

14. Urban Systems Research
Head: Vladimir Almendinger, Jr.
Systems Development Corporation
2500 Colorado Avenue

Santa Monica, California 90406

CONNECTICUT

15. Center for Urban Studies
    Chairman: Charles J. Stokes
    University of Bridgeport
    Bridgeport, Connecticut 06602

16. Higher Education Center For Urban Studies
    Director: H. Parker Lansdale
    219 Park Avenue
    Bridgeport, Connecticut 06602

17. Center for Real Estate and Urban Economic Studies
    Director: William N. Kinnard, Jr.
    Asst. Director: Stephen D. Messner
    School of Business Administration
    University of Connecticut
    Storrs, Connecticut 06268

18. Institute of Urban Research
    Director: Karl A. Bosworth
    University of Connecticut
    Storrs, Connecticut 06268

DELAWARE

19. Division of Urban Affairs
    Director: C. Harold Brown
    University of Delaware
    Newark, Delaware 19711

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

20. Bureau of Social Science Research, Inc.
    Director: Robert T. Bower
    Asst. Director: Ivor Wayne
    1200 - 17th Street, N.W.
    Washington, D.C. 20036

21. Doxiadis System Development Center
    Director: C. A. Doxiadis
    Assoc. Director: Michael Fereres
    1062 Thomas Jefferson Street, N.W.
    Washington, D.C. 20007

22. Regional and Urban Studies Group
    Director: Lowdon Wingo
    Resources for the Future, Inc.
    1755 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
    Washington, D.C. 20036

23. Urban America, Inc.
    Exec. V.P.: William Slayton
    1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
    Washington, D.C. 20036

24. The Urban Institute
    President: William Gorham
    1900 L Street, N.W.
    Washington, D.C. 20036

25. Urban Land Institute
    Exec. Director: Max S. Wehrly
    1200-18th Street, N.W.
    Washington, D.C. 20036

26. Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies
    President: Royce Hanson
    American University
    1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
    Washington, D.C. 20036

FLORIDA

27. Urban Affairs Project
    Asst. Coordinator: Mrs. Morton Perry
    Division of Continuing Education
    University of Miami
    Coral Gables, Florida 33124

28. Urban Studies Bureau
    Director: Elizabeth M. Eddy
    University of Florida

Gainesville, Florida 32601

29. Institute for Urban Studies
    Contact: W.B. Cameron
    University of South Florida
    Tampa, Florida 33620

30. Urban Research Center
    Director: Huey B. Long
    Florida State University
    Titusville, Florida 32780

GEORGIA

31. Institute of Community and Area Development
    Director: Ernest E. Melvin
    Assoc. Director: Gene A. Bramlett
    University of Georgia
    Athens, Georgia 30601

ILLINOIS

32. Community Studies Unit
    Director: Ernest K. Alix
    Community Development Service
    Director: John B. Hawley
    Southern Illinois University
    Carbondale, Illinois 62901

33. Center for Research in Urban Government
    Director: Phil A. Doyle
    Loyola University
    Chicago, Illinois 60611

34. Center for Urban Studies
    Director: Jack Meltzer
    University of Chicago
    Chicago, Illinois 60637

35. Center for Urban Studies
    Director: William L. Garrison
    University of Illinois at Chicago Circle

Chicago, Illinois 60680

36. Community and Family Study Center
    Contact: Donald J. Bogue
    University of Chicago
    Chicago, Illinois

37. Government and Community Development Program
    Director: Jerry A. Knight
    Industrial Relations Center
    University of Chicago
    Chicago, Illinois 60637

38. Institute of Urban Life
    Director: John M. Ducey
    222 W. Adams Street
    Chicago, Illinois 60606

39. Metropolitan Studies Center
    Director: Johanna Sonnenfeld
    Illinois Institute of Technology
    Chicago, Illinois 60616

40. Population Research Center
    (Formerly: Population Research and Training Center)
    Director: Philip M. Hauser
    University of Chicago
    Chicago, Illinois 60637

41. Research Institute
    Director: E.H. Schulz
    Illinois Institute of Technology
    Chicago, Illinois 60616

42. Urban Studies Program
    Director: James M. Banovetz
    Loyola University
    Chicago, Illinois

43. Center for Metropolitan Studies
    Director: Scott Greer
    Northwestern University
    Evanston, Illinois 60201

44. Center for Urban Affairs
Director: Raymond W. Mack
Northwestern University
Evanston, Illinois 60201

45. Urban and Regional Planning Program
Director: George L. Peterson
Dept. of Civil Engineering
Northwestern University
Evanston, Illinois 60201

46. Center for Community Development
Contact: Rodrick Rolston
(Asst. Dear, Continuing Studies)
Bradley University
Peoria, Illinois 61606

47. Bureau of Community Planning
Director: Joseph M. Heikoff
University of Illinois
Urbana, Illinois 61801

INDIANA

48. Division of Community Planning
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana 47401

49. Urban Development Institute
Director: Thomas D. Sherrard
Calumet Campus
Purdue University
Hammond, Indiana 46323

IOWA

50. Center for Urban Studies
Contact: George Mauer
Drake University
Des Moines, Iowa 50311

51. Iowa Urban Community Research Center
Acting Director: Lyle W. Shannon
Assoc. Director: William Erbe

University of Iowa
Iowa City, Iowa 52240

KANSAS

52. Center for Regional Studies
Acting Director: Robert T. Aangeenbrug
University of Kansas
Lawrence, Kansas 66044

53. The Topeka Institute of Urban Affairs
Director: James M. Young
Washburn University of Topeka
Topeka, Kansas 66621

54. Center for Urban Studies
Director: Hugo Wall
Wichita State University
Wichita, Kansas 67213

KENTUCKY

55. Urban Studies Center
Director: Joseph F. Maloney
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky 40208

LOUISIANA

56. Urban Studies Center
(Formerly: Urban Life Research Institute)
Exec. Director: Carl L. Harter
Acting Director: Leonard Reisman
Tulane University
New Orleans, Louisiana 70118

57. Institute of Urban and Population Research
Director: George L. Wilber
Department of Sociology
Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70803

MARYLAND

58. Center for Urban Affairs
    Johns Hopkins University
    Baltimore, Maryland 21205

59. Urban Studies Institute
    Director: Homer E. Favor
    Morgan State College
    Baltimore, Maryland 21212

MASSACHUSETTS

60. Center for Field Studies
    Director: David C. Twichell
    Graduate School of Education
    Harvard University
    Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

61. Joint Center for Urban Studies
    Director: Robert C. Wood
    Assoc. Director: Leonard J. Fein
    MIT and Harvard University
    66 Church Street,
    Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

62. Program on Regional and Urban Economics
    Director: John F. Kain
    Harvard University
    Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

63. Urban Survey Corporation
    Attn: Alan Rabinowitz
    14 Story Street
    Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

64. Urban Systems Laboratory
    Director: Charles L. Miller
    Massachusetts Institute of Technology
    Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139

65. Institute of Human Sciences
    Director: Demetrius S. Iatridis
    Boston College
    Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts 02167

MICHIGAN

66. Environmental Simulation Laboratory
    Director: Richard D. Duke
    University of Michigan
    Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104

67. Center for Urban Studies
    Director: John Dempsey
    University of Michigan
    Dearborn, Michigan 48128

68. Center for Urban Studies
    Director: Bertram M. Gross
    Wayne State University
    Detroit, Michigan 48201

69. Center for Urban Affairs
    Director: Ronald Lee
    Michigan State University
    East Lansing, Michigan 48823

70. Institute for Community Development
    Director: Duane L. Gibson
    Continuing Education Service
    Michigan State University
    East Lansing, Michigan 48823

71. Social Science Research Bureau
    Director: Charles Hanley
    Michigan State University
    East Lansing, Michigan 48823

72. Urban-Regional Research Institute
    Michigan State University
    East Lansing, Michigan 48823

MINNESOTA

73. Center for Urban and Regional Affairs
    Director: John Borchert
    University of Minnesota
    Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455

MISSISSIPPI

74. Social Science Research Center
    Director: Harold F. Kaufman
    Admin. Officer: Andrew W. Baird
    Mississippi State University
    State College, Mississippi 39762

MISSOURI

75. Center for Community Development
    Director: Bernard E. Nash
    University of Missouri
    Columbia, Missouri 65201

76. Institute for Community Studies
    (Formerly: Community Studies, Inc.)
    Director: Paul H. Bowman
    301 E. Armour Blvd.
    Kansas City, Missouri 64111

77. Center for Urban Programs
    Contact: George D. Wendel
    St. Louis University
    St. Louis, Missouri 63103

78. Center of Community and Metropolitan Studies
    Director: B.G. Schumacher
    Assoc. Director: Earl J. Reeves
    University of Missouri
    St. Louis, Missouri 63121

79. Institute for Urban and Regional Studies
    Director: Charles L. Leven
    Washington University
    St. Louis, Missouri 63130

80. Social Science Institute
    Director: David J. Pittman
    Washington University
    St. Louis, Missouri 63130

81. Urban Renewal Design Centre
    Director: Roger Montgomery
    Washington University
    St. Louis, Missouri 63130

NEBRASKA

82. Center for Urban Affairs
    Director: Wayne Wheeler
    University of Nebraska
    Omaha, Nebraska 68101

NEW JERSEY

83. Urban Studies Center
    Director John E. Bebout
    Asst. Director: David Popenoe
    Marshall Stalley
    Rutgers, The State University
    New Brunswick, New Jersey 08903

84. Center for Urban and Environmental Engineering
    Newark College of Engineering
    Newark, New Jersey 07103

85. Research Center for Urban and Environmental Planning
    Director: Bernard P. Spring
    Asst. Director: Dorothy E. Whiteman
    School of Architecture
    Princeton University
    Princeton, New Jersey 08540

86. Center for Urban Research and Environmental Studies
    Codirectors: Bernard J. Stack
    William J. Doerflinger
    Asst. Director: William Pye
    Seton Hall University
    South Orange, New Jersey 07079

NEW YORK

87. Institute for Community Studies
    Director: Bert E. Swanson
    Sarah Lawrence College
    Bronxville, New Jersey 10708

88. Office of Urban Affairs

Director: Gordon Edwards
State University of New York
Buffalo, New York 14214

89. Center for Business and Urban Research
Director: Alfred J. Van Tassel
Hofstra University
Hempstead, New York 11550

90. Center for Environmental Quality Management
Director: Walter R. Lynn
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York 14850

91. Center for Housing and Environmental Studies
Director: Glenn H. Beyer
Division of Urban Studies
Director: Barclay G. Jones
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York 14850

92. Office of Regional Resources and Development
Director: Oliver C. Winston
Asst. Director: Robert L. Mann
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York, 14850

93. Metropolitan Studies Program
Director: Guthrie S. Birkhead
Asst. Director: Arthur Le Gacy
Syracuse University
Syracuse, New York 13210

NEW YORK CITY

94. Institute for Urban Studies
Director: Joseph R. Cammarosano
Asst. Director: William M. Partlan
Fordham University
Bronx, New York 10458

95. Center for Urban Environmental

Studies
Director: John G. Duba
Tech. Director: P.R. DeCicio
Polytechnic Institute of
Brooklyn
Brooklyn, New York 11201

96. Pratt Center for Community Development
Director: George M. Raymond
Asst. Director: Ronald Shiffman
Dept. of City and Regional Planning
School of Architecture
Pratt Institute
Brooklyn, New York 11205

97. Institute for Community Studies
Director: Marilyn Gittell
Queens College of the City
University of New York
Flushing, New York 11367

98. Bureau of Applied Social Research
Director: Allen H. Barton
Columbia University
New York, New York 10025

99. Center for New York City Affairs
Program Director: Jerome Liblit
Research Directors: Joan
Gordon, Michael E. Eckstein
New School for Social Research
New York, New York 10011

100. Center for the Study of Urban Problems
Bernard M. Baruch College
City University of New York
New York, New York 10010

101. Center for Urban Community Affairs
Director: Frank Williams
Columbia University
New York, New York 10025

102. Committee for Economic Development
711 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10022

103. Inst e of Urban Environment
ector: Chester Rapkin
School of Architecture
Columbia University
New York, New York 10027

104. Institute of Urban Programs and
Community Relations
New York City College
New York, New York 10031

105. The MARC Corporation
(Metropolitan Applied Research
Center, Inc.)
60 E. 86th Street
New York, New York 10028

106. Metropolitan Information Service
Director: Sol Markoff
Center for New York City Affairs
New School for Social Research
70 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10011

107. Office of Urban Affairs
Director: Julius Edelstein
City University of New York
33 W. 42nd Street
New York, New York 10036

108. Regional Plan Association
President: C. McKim Norton
Exec. V.P.: John P. Keith
Planning Director: Stanley B. Tankel
230 W. 41st Street
New York, New York 10036

109. United Nations Center for Housing,
Building and Planning
Acting Director: Robert J. Crooks
United Nations Plaza
New York, New York 10017

110. Urban Research Center
Director: Seymour Z. Mann
Dept. of Urban Affairs

Hunter College of the City
University of New York
New York, New York 10021

NORTH CAROLINA

111. Center for Urban and Regional Studies
Research Director: F. Stuart Chapin, Jr.
Institute for Research in Social Science
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514

OHIO

112. Institute for Urban Information Systems
Director: Fred J. Lundberg
University of Cincinnati
Cincinnati, Ohio 45221

113. Institute of Urban Studies
Contact: William J. Nagle
Cleveland State University
Cleveland, Ohio 44155

114. Center for Community and Regional Analysis
Director: Henry L. Hunker
Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio 43210

115. City and Regional Planning Center
Director: Israel Stollman
Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio 43210

116. Design Research Group
Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio 43210

117. Office of Community Development
Coordinator: Israel Stollman
Ohio State University

Columbus, Ohio 43210

118. Center for Urban Regionalism
Director: James G. Coke
Assoc. Directors: Robert
Dean, John E. Rickert,
Michael A.S. Blurton
Kent State University
Kent, Ohio 44240

OKLAHOMA

119. Oklahoma Center of Urban and Regional Studies
Director: Joseph Lee Rogers, Jr.
University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma 73069

120. Program in Urban Science
Director: Joe E. Brown
College of Continuing Education
University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma 73069

121. Institute of Metropolitan Studies
Attention: David R. Morgan
Oklahoma City University
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73106

122. Professors of the City
Contact: Barry A. Kinsey
University of Tulsa
Tulsa, Oklahoma 74104

123. Urban Studies Center
Director: Terrance S. Luce
University of Tulsa
Tulsa, Oklahoma 74104

OREGON

124. Institute for Community Studies
Director: Roland J. Pellegrin
University of Oregon
Eugene, Oregon 97403

125. Urban Studies Center
Director: Lyndon R. Musolf
Portland State College
Portland, Oregon 97207

PENNSYLVANIA

126. Center for Community Studies
Temple University
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19122

127. Center for the Study of the Environment
Director: P. Walton Purdom
Drexel Institute of Technology
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104

128. Human Resources Center
Director: Howard E. Mitchell
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104

129. Institute of Environmental Studies
Director: Ann Strong
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104

130. Regional Science Department
Attention: Walter Isard
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104

131. Urban Archives Center-Center for Community Studies
Contact: Herman Niebuhr
Temple University
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19122

132. ACTION-Housing, Inc.
Exec. Director: Bernard F. Loshbough
No. 2 Gateway Center
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15222

133. Center for Regional Economic Studies
Director: David Bramhall

211 S. Dithridge Street
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15213

134. Urban Land Studies Institute
University of Pittsburgh
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15213

135. Division of Man-Environment Relations
Director: Raymond G. Studer
College of Human Development
Pennsylvania State University
University Park, Pennsylvania 16802

136. Regional Analysis Center
Director: Hays B. Gamble
Institute for Research on Land and Water Resources
Director: John C. Frey
Pennsylvania State University
University Park, Pennsylvania 16802

137. Institute of Regional Affairs
(Formerly: Institute of Municipal Government)
Director: Hugo V. Mailey
Asst. Director: Philip R. Tuhy
Wilkes College
Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania 18703

RHODE ISLAND

138. Graduate Curriculum in Community Planning and Area Development
Director: Peter H. Nash
University of Rhode Island
Kingston, Rhode Island 02881

139. Research and Design Institute
P.O. Box 307
Providence, Rhode Island 02901

SOUTH CAROLINA

140. Bureau of Urban and Regional Studies
Director: G.E. Breger

University of South Carolina
Columbia, South Carolina 29208

TENNESSEE

141. Institute for Urban Development
Director: C.B. Easterwood
Division for Regional and Urban Studies
Director: Paul R. Lowry
Memphis State University
Memphis, Tennessee 38111

TEXAS

142. Institute of Urban Studies
Contact: Raymond Collins
University of Texas
Arlington, Texas 76010

143. Institute of Urban Studies
Contact: Sydney E. Reagan
Southern Methodist University
Dallas, Texas 75222

144. Department of Applied Economics
Director: W. Lawrence Prehn, Jr.
Southwest Research Institute
8500 Culebra Road
San Antonio, Texas 78206

UTAH

145. Division of Community and Urban Development
Director: Edward O. Moe
University of Utah
Salt Lake City, Utah 84110

VIRGINIA

146. Center for Urban and Regional Studies
Asst. Director: Alan Walter Steiss
Virginia Polytechnic Institute

Blacksburg, Virginia 24061

147. Institute of Urban Affairs
Contact: Jack T. Turner
Old Dominion College
Norfolk, Virginia 23508

148. Urban Center
Director: Robert J. Horgan
Institute for Business and Community Development
University of Richmond
Richmond, Virginia 23220

WASHINGTON

149. Center for Urban and Regional Research
Acting Director: Edward L. Ullman
University of Washington
Seattle, Washington 98105

150. Regional Science Research Institute (Seattle Office)
Staff Director: J.B. Schneider
1314 N.E. 43 Street
Seattle, Washington 98105

151. Urban Data Center
Attention: Lennert A. Bergstrom
University of Washington
Seattle, Washington 98105

WEST VIRGINIA

152. Regional Research Institute
Director: W.H. Miernyk
University of West Virginia
Morgantown, W. Virginia 26506

WISCONSIN

153. Department of Urban and Regional Planning
Chairman: Leo Jakobson
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

154. Environmental Design Center
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

155. Department of Urban Affairs
Chairman: Henry J. Schmandt
University of Wisconsin
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211

ARGENTINA

156. Equipa de Estudios de Planeamiento Regional y Urbano
Director: Jorge E. Hardoy
Centro de Investigacion Aplicada
Universidad de Buenos Aires
Buenos Aires, Argentina

AUSTRALIA

157. Planning Research Centre
Director: Denis Winston
Acting Director: Ivan Boileau
University of Sydney
Sydney, N.S.W. Australia

158. Urban Research Unit
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P.O. Box 4
Canberra, A.C.T. Australia 2600

AUSTRIA

159. Osterreichisches Institut für Raumplanung
Directors: Werner Jäger
Fritz Kastner
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BRAZIL

160. Centro de Pesquisas Administrativas
Director: Diogo Lordell de Mello
Escola Brasileira de Administracao Publica
Caiza Postal 4081-ZC-05
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CANADA

161. Advisory Group, Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation
Chairman: A.Hazeland
Montreal Road
Ottawa 7, Ontario, Canada

162. Bureau of Municipal Research
Exec. Director: Dominic Del Guidice
4 Richmond Street E, Suite 406
Toronto 1, Ontario, Canada

163. Canadian Council on Urban and Regional Research
Exec. Officer: Alan Armstrong
225 Metcalfe, Suite 308
Ottawa 4, Ontario, Canada

164. Centre for Urban and Community Studies
Director: J. Stefan Dupré
University of Toronto
150 St. George Street
Toronto 5, Ontario, Canada

165. Centre for Urban Studies
Director: Meyer Brownstone
Department of Political Economy
University of Toronto
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

166. Faculty of Environmental Studies
Dean: Gerald A.P. Carrothers
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169. INTERMET: The International Study and Training Programme on Metropolitan Problems
Director: Simon Miles
4 Richmond Street 3, Suite 406
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170. National Research Council of Canada
Montreal Road
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CHILE

171. Comité Interdisciplinario de Desarrollo Urbano
Director of Technical Office:
Ricardo Jordan
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172. Ford Foundation Urban and Regional Development Advisory Program in Chile
Director: John Friedmann
Santo Domingo 504, Of. 81
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ENGLAND

173. Centre for Environmental Studies
Director: Henry Chilver
London University
London, England

174. Centre for Urban and Regional Studies
Director: J.B. Cullingworth
Selly Wick House
Selly Wick Road
Birmingham 29, England

175. Centre for Urban Studies
Director of Research: Ruth Glass

University College
87 Gower Street
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176. Housing Research Unit
(Formerly: Housing Research and Development Group)
Director: Francis M. Jones
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Leverhulme Building
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Liverpool 7, England

177. Town and Country Planning Department
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Newcastle upon Tyne, England

FRANCE

178. Institut d Aménagement et d.Urbanisme de la Région Parisienne
Director: P. Merlin
9, Rue Hamelin
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179. Omnium Technique d'Études Urbaines
Director: René Loué
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GERMANY

180. Datum (Documentation and Training for the Theory and Method of Regional Research)
President: Martin Neuffer
Annaberger Strasse 148
Bad Godesberg 532
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GREECE

181. Athens Centre of Ekistics
Chairman: C.A. Doxiadis
Athens Technological

Organization
24 Strat, Syndesmou Street
Athens 138. Greece

182. Social Sciences Centre, Athens
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5 Koumbari Street
Kolonaki Square
Athens 138. Greece

INDIA

183. UNESCO Research Centre on Social and Economic Development in Southern Asia
Director: Pierre Bassaignet
University Enclave
Delhi 7, India

JAPAN

184. Institute of Social Science
Exec. Director: Tohru Arŭzumi
University of Tokyo
1 Motofuji-cho
Bunkyo-ku
Tokyo, Japan

SCOTLAND

185. Centre for Planning and Housing In Developing Countries
Director: Vernon Z. Newcombe
University of Edinburgh
60 George Street
Edinburgh 8, Scotland

186. Department of Social and Economic Research
Director: D.J. Robertson
Adam Smith Building
University of Glasgow
Glasgow W.2, Scotland

VENEZUELA

187. Centro de Estudios del Desarroilo (CENDES)
Director: Luis Lander
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Caracas, Venezuela

188. Fundacion para el Desarrollo de la Comunidad y Fomento Municipal
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Caracas, Venezuela

189. Instituto de Urbanismo
Executive Secretary: Armando Brons
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190. Instituto para el Desarrollo Economico y Social (IDES)
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